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ABSTRACT

This monograph is intended to foster an understanding of the history, context, and current status of adult education in Greece. The first part, which is devoted to the history of lifelong learning and adult education in Greece, consists of two chapters. The first chapter examines ancient and medieval Greece, and the second one covers the history of adult education from 1821 until the present. The second part of the book covers adult education in Greece today. The following topics are covered in the six chapters included in Part 2: the present economic, social, and political framework of adult education in Greece (the economic, social, and government background; the party platform and government program; 5-year economic and social development plans; the 1983-1987 plan for modernization, decentralization, and participation; and targeted development pertinent to adult education); adult education agents and related social structures (leadership and operating systems; formal, nonformal, and informal education; providers of adult education; and the role of the peace movement and peace education); learners in adult education, client systems, targeted groups, and self-help programs; adult education as a field of study; international contacts; and future prospects and potential. References, footnotes, a transliteration table, a list of acronyms, and an index complete the monograph. (MN)

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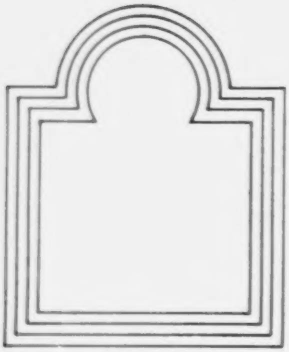

MONOGRAPHS ON COMPARATIVE AND AREA STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Jindra Kulich, General Editor

CENTRE FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION
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in co-operation with
THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Adult Education in Greece

Marcie Boucouvalas

Vancouver 1988

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To my parents:
Georgia Foundas Boucouvalas
and the late
Stellios (Stanley) Efstathios Boucouvalas
for their insistence that I
understand the Greek culture and language

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Since 1982 George Papandreou has kept me enlightened about the philosophical, theoretical, and legislative foundations of popular education thrusts and strides and has facilitated interviews with a variety of individuals. His interest in listening to and learning from all parts of the world sets an example.

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Greek minds and spirits such as Ina Argyriou, Amalia Fleming, Alexis Kokkos, and others too numerous to mention, have been supportive and instructive.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ix

Foreword xi

Map of Greece xvi

PART ONE: HISTORY OF LIFELONG LEARNING AND ADULT EDUCATION IN GREECE

Chapter 1: Ancient and Medieval Greece as Forerunners 1
Early and Archaic Greece 1
    Poets as "Schoolmasters of Grown Men" – Sound Mind in a Sound Body – Attempts at Unity for the City States: The Persian Wars – The Peloponnesian War
Pre–classical and Classical Period 4
    Growth of a Learning Society – Decline of Paideia
Hellenistic and Graeco–Roman Years 12
    Hellenistic Greece – The Graeco–Roman Period
Byzantine Era 13
Turkish Occupation and Rule 17

Chapter 2: History of Adult Education in Modern Greece 23
Historical Context: From 1821 to the Present 23
Appearance, Evolution, and Development of Adult Education: From 1821 to the Present 26
The Nineteenth Century 27
    The Public Sector – The Voluntary and Private Sector
The Twentieth Century 29
    From 1900 to 1920 – The 1920s – The 1930s – The 1940s – From 1950 to 1974 – From 1975 to 1981 – from 1981 to the Present
Recapitulation 48
    Emerging Themes

PART TWO: ADULT EDUCATION IN GREECE TODAY

Chapter 3: The Present Context: Economic, Social, and Political Framework 53
Economic, Social, and Political Background 53
Party Platform and Government Program 55
The Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan 1983-1987 56
    Modernization — Decentralization — Participation
Targeted Development Pertinent to Adult Education 58
    Agriculture — Domestic Trade and Distribution — Tourism — Protection and Rehabilitation of the Environment — Education — Health Services — Sports — Equality of the Sexes — Youth — Social Welfare — Social Security — Research and Technology — Cultural Development — Telecommunications: Post, Radio, Television
Recapitulation 61

Chapter 4: The Delivery System: Adult Education Agents and Social Structures 62
Delivery System Defined 62
Leadership Systems 63
Operating Systems 64
Formal Education 65
    Basic and Secondary Education for Adults — In-service Education of Teachers — Vocational-Technical Education
Non-formal and Informal Education 69
Involvement Of Government Ministries in Adult Education 69
    Ministry of Agriculture — Ministry of Justice — Ministry of the Interior — Ministries of Merchant Marine and National Defense — Ministry of Health and Social Welfare — Ministry of the National Economy — Ministry of Labor (including Manpower Development Agency) — Ministry of the Prime Minister — Ministry of Culture and Science — Ministry of Education (and National Religion)
Other Governmental Bodies 82
Voluntary, Semi-governmental, and Private Initiatives 83
    YWCA and YMCA — League of Volunteers — Auxiliary Services (e.g., Libraries and Resource Centers) — Language Institutes
The Educative Nature of Selected Movements 87
    The Peace Movement and Peace Education

Chapter 5: Learners in Adult Education: Client Systems, Target Groups, and Self-Help 89
Focus on Women and the Women's Movement 90
Family and Parent Education 93
Agricultural Population 93
Employees, Managers, Unemployed and the Labor Movement 97
Continuing Education of Professionals 99
Other Target Groups 99
Recapitulation 100

Chapter 6: Adult Education as a Field of Study: Education and Research 101
Education of Adult Educators 101
Research in Adult Education 103

Chapter 7: International Contacts 105
Historical Highlights 105
Current Highlights 108

Chapter 8: Future Prospects and Potential 114

References 121

Footnotes 129

Table of Transliteration 132

List of Organizations and Institutions Referred to in Text by Acronym 133

Index 136

PREFACE

Interest in the comparative study of adult education has been growing in many parts of the world since the first conference on comparative adult education held at Exeter, U.S.A. in 1966. This interest was given further impetus by meetings held at Pugwash, Canada in 1970, Nordborg, Denmark in 1972, Nairobi, Kenya in 1975, and Oxford, England in 1987.

A number of international organizations, among those Unesco, the International Bureau of Education, the International Congress of University Adult Education, the European Bureau of Adult Education, O.E.C.D., the European Centre for Leisure and Education, the Council of Europe, and the International Council for Adult Education have contributed their share.

A growing number of universities in all five continents established courses in comparative adult education. Many other universities encourage students to deal with comparative study or with the study of adult education abroad in major papers and theses. The literature in this area has increased considerably since the early 1960s both in support and as a result of this university activity. A number of valuable bibliographies were published, cataloguing the growing wealth of materials available in a number of languages.

Most of the literature available on adult education in various countries can still be found primarily in articles scattered throughout adult education and social science journals, while most of the truly comparative studies remain unpublished master's theses or doctoral dissertations. Until recently there was no commercial publisher enticing researchers to submit manuscripts of monographs dealing with comparative adult education and case studies of adult education in various countries, even though the need for such a publishing venture was stressed at a number of international meetings. It was with the intent to provide such service to the discipline and the field of adult education that the Centre for Continuing Education at The University of British Columbia, in cooperation with the International Council for Adult Education, decided in 1977 to publish a series of Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education.

In 1984 a major English publishing house in the field of education, Croom Helm, decided to establish a new series, the Croom Helm Series in International Adult Education. Dr. Peter Jarvis of the University of Surrey, an internationally recognized scholar and noted promoter of publishing in international adult education, was appointed editor of this series. A number of volumes have been published in the new series since 1984 and have enriched the literature in this important field.

We are pleased to be able to present now the thirteenth volume in our series, ***Adult Education in Greece***, by Marcie Boucouvalas. This monograph is the result of several years of research, delving into primary and secondary sources and utilizing interviews with policy makers and practitioners during extensive visits to Greece. It provides us with an overview of the roots of adult education in ancient Greece, as well as with analysis of the important role and potential of adult education in a democratic renewal in contemporary Greece. The monograph is an important contribution to our literature and significantly helps to fill an almost total void of information available in English on this country.

Jindra Kulich
General Editor

FOREWORD

A comprehensive understanding of adult education in any country must be conceived of in stages. The first step involves that arduous process of gathering bits and pieces of information and trying to construct it in such a way so as to form an emerging picture of the whole with its parts and how they relate to each other. This is the descriptive stage. Only with such a foundation can one begin to look for and discern patterns, trends, and periods of movement, and engage in interpretive inquiry. I consider this work on Greece, in some respects, to still be in the descriptive stage and accordingly still in process.

An enormous amount of detective work was involved in attempting to systematically fashion what amounted to a multi-faceted mosaic. This work represents, to the writer's knowledge, the first attempt in any language to systematically investigate the phenomenon of adult education, broadly defined, which has permeated Greek society from antiquity to modern times. Both feedback and suggestions for improvement are most welcome.

This work represents the "interim" culmination of a six year continuing inquiry about how adults learn and have learned in Greece. Although modern day efforts form a focal point of the study it seemed critical to afford the reader an understanding of the rich and varied history of the country which has provided so much to western civilization. Consequently, the first two chapters offer a journey back to the birth of Greek civilization (c. 3000 B.C.). As one is guided through its evolution into the emergence of the modern Greek state, a variety of human/adult learning activities and endeavors as well as material, societal, and human learning resources are highlighted.

The book assumes no prior knowledge on the reader's part about Greece or the Greek people. Those unfamiliar with the country may want to read the historical background sections, [particularly Chapters 1 and 2]. Those more familiar with the background material may wish to proceed directly to the discussion of adult learning activities. The book may be equally useful to non-Greeks as well as people living within Greece. Perhaps those working within Greece in some capacity with adults as learners may find that the work helps them understand the larger whole of which they are part – the phenomenon of adult learning in the country.

Being born of Greek parents (my mother was an American born of Greek parents; my father came to America from Greece with his family when he was approximately 7 years old), Greece has always been an integral part of my consciousness. International adult education has also captivated my attention since my master's program (1968–71) at Boston University, when I first began to identify myself as an adult educator.

As I became increasingly versed in the adult education systems and activities around the world, I recognized a void in the English-language literature: Greece seemed missing. My interest peaked further during my doctoral program at Florida State University during the mid-1970s when a literature review revealed that, with the exception of a few reports from UNESCO consultants to Greece, the country was indeed absent from the English-language literature on adult education in other countries.

Discussions with a variety of Greek contacts over the ensuing years revealed that the country did indeed appear to have support structures and processes to facilitate learning opportunities and activities for adults. Moreover, learners as their own agents of learning seemed much in evidence.

When I joined the faculty of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University's Graduate Center during 1980 I decided to write to the Greek Ministry of Education – expressing my concern about the relative absence of Greece from the English-language literature on adult education. I requested information on materials, both in Greek and English not available in the United States, and proposed a study of adult education in Greece. I received an official invitation from the Government to come to Greece to investigate the topic, and an introduction to the then National Director of Adult Education, Petros Kehayiopoulos. Summer of 1981 was spent researching adult education throughout the country. These efforts, reported elsewhere (Boucouvalas, 1982a, 1982b), concentrated on areas either designed or coordinated by the Ministry of Education, or of which the Ministry was knowledgeable. Data was also collected, however, on involvement of other governmental bodies as well as on the private sector. Data gathered on the socio-economic, political, and cultural context, in addition to the historical and geographic background, laid a foundation for the inquiry.

Concerted observations, in-person interviews (with administrators, providers, consumers, and others), field notes, and other tools were used. Much Greek-language material was available only in the country (archival data, statistical reports, legislation and statutory regulations, proceedings from conferences, speeches, media coverage, and other sources).

During 1982 and 1983, literature reviews were maintained and expanded to include resources from the European Economic Community and a host of other fugitive documents not available through conventional abstracting and retrieval services. Greek, English, French, and a few German-langauge sources were involved.

Communications were maintained with Greek colleagues, as well as with new human catalysts of the adult education movement which came to the forefront after the change in government in 1981-82. I received a subsequent invitation to participate in a working conference of Greek adult educators during August 1984 in Greece. The visit to Greece also enabled me to further update, expand, and cross-verify ongoing research. Literature accession, as well as dialogues and interviews were maintained throughout 1985. British resources on the topic were examined both during July 1984 while I served as a Kellogg exchange professor there, and during July 1986 while I was in Britain making a presentation on the topic (Boucouvalas, 1986). The study which began in 1980 continues.

As is evident, a thorough investigation of literature in Greek, English, and French languages regarding the education of adults in Greece as well as the socio-economic, political, and cultural context, in addition to the geographic and historical background, laid a foundation for the inquiry. A persistent, far more fundamental question was considered in preparation for as well as in conduct of the inquiry: How does one go about researching the education of adults (broadly defined) in a country where little has been written, where adult education as a movement has been piecemeal, and where no one body has taken responsibility for coordinating, understanding, or systematically studying all countrywide efforts. Advice was sought and received from human resources such as Roby Kidd and Edwin Townsend-Coles. Guidance was also gleaned from the articles and monographs resulting from the CROASAEE (Comparative Research in Organization and Structure of Adult Education in Europe) projects, although the methodology monographs were not completed until 1983 (Maydl et al., 1983).

For the purposes of this study, adult education was given a very broad definition and was viewed as a movement permeating society-at-large in Greece, as a dynamic process whereby adults learn, as well as a program or activities of agencies, institutions, and organizational structures in Greek society.

It may be helpful to understand that, although equipped with a variety of prior typologies of adult education, as well as with the 4-sector approach of the CROASAEE project: (a) school type education, (b) vocational education, (c) socio-cultural or out-of-school education and (d) X-sector for those activities which do not fully fit into any of the other three, it soon became evident that it was difficult to force Greek reality into these structures. Consequently such information was employed more as a mental guideline.

Major historical eras in Greek history provided a framework for periodization. Basically, ancient and medieval Greece were investigated in more general terms as forerunners to modern Greece (1821-present). Efforts were addressed at distilling out major themes and continuities throughout Greek history relevant to adult education. The following framework, therefore, provided direction: (a) Pre-history (c. 3000-1100 B.C.) (b) Archaic (c. 1100-700 B.C.) (c) Pre-Classical & Classical (c. 700-323 B.C.) (d) Hellenistic (323-146 B.C.) (e) Graeco-Roman (146 B.C.- 330 A.D.) (f) Byzantine Era (330-1453) (g) Turkish Occupation and Rule (1453-1821) and (h) Modern Greece (1821-present).

Modern Greece may additionally be subdivided into 19th and 20th century. The process of carving out the 20th century into manageable periods was guided by marker events idiosyncratic to Greece. For example, termination of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the transfer of Turkish and Greek populations during the early 1920s are far more significant events than the usual and customary historical periods of pre and post World War I. Likewise with World War II: While post World War II is generally indicative of reconstruction efforts in many countries, Greece was immediately plunged into a civil war which was not resolved until 1949. Consequently, the 1950s into the 1960s is considered a reconstruction era in Greece. Moreover, the years 1967-1974 have special significance in Greece for they signify the reign of a military dictatorship. Likewise with the years 1974-1980 which heralded the return of democracy and the years 1981-present which have witnessed the first socialist government in Greek history.

Generalizing a bit beyond the present case study of Greece, then, with regard to periodization in the historical study of adult education we face a challenge in terms of how best to approach this task. Do we employ marker events which have meaning to the specific country, do we choose major historical events of worldwide significance in order to ultimately permit comparative analyses, or do we follow some other means or combination thereof.

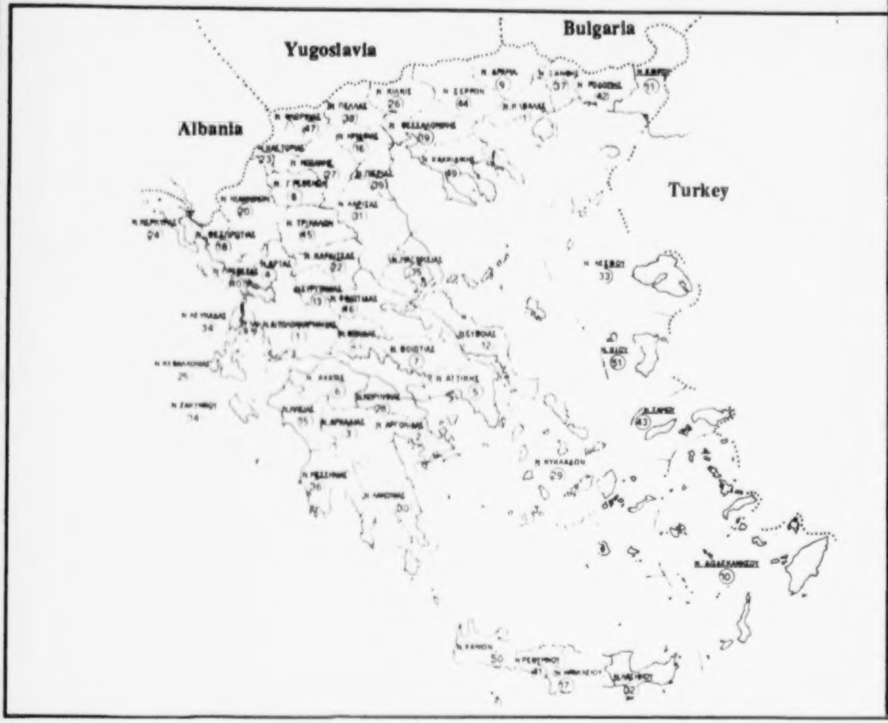
Recognizing at the outset that a comprehensive understanding of the history of adult education in any country was a mammoth task, a foundational overview seemed in order. Consequently, this inquiry represents an initial effort to lay such a groundwork – that is, a descriptive attempt to gather the varied pieces of information and construct them in such a way so as to form an emerging picture of the whole. Major attention was devoted, therefore, to chronicling and chronologizing the appearance, evolution, and development of adult learning and education endeavors in Greece and distilling out major themes. Although interpretive work on the meaning of the findings was undertaken at every opportunity, authenticity and accuracy (particularly of sequencing) were major goals. Once a strong foundation has been built, future inquiry can more fully focus on interpretive questions.

In general, an "open focus" (Fritz & Fehmi, 1982) was employed. That is, an "objective" as well as "totally absorbed" stance was embraced. A focus on particular aspects under study was maintained, but "letting go" to become more diffuse and absorb the entire "gestalt" was also important.

The report of this inquiry, therefore, and the intent of the text is to appeal to a broad spectrum of readers with varying background and experience levels with regard to the Greek story. Consequently, details are provided for the interested reader. Others for whom such specific information may prove cumbersome may want to skim or casually examine some portions and/or save them perhaps for a second or third reading.

Falls Church, Virginia
December 1987 MB

Map of Modern Greece Depicting 51 Prefectures (Districts)



Α/Α	Ν.Ε.Λ.Ε.
1.	Αιτωλοακαρνανίας
2.	Αργολίδας
3.	Αρκαδίας
4.	Άρτας
5.	Αττικής
6.	Αχαΐας
7.	Βοιωτίας
8.	Γρεβενών
9.	Δράμας
10.	Δωδεκανήσου
11.	Έβρου
12.	Εύβοιας
13.	Ευρυτανίας
14.	Ζακύνθου
15.	Ηλείας
16.	Ημαθίας
17.	Ηρακλείου
18.	Θεσπρωτίας
19.	Θεσσαλονίκης
20.	Ιωαννίνων
21.	Καβάλας
22.	Καρδίτσας
23.	Καστοριάς
24.	Κέρκυρας
25.	Κεφαλληνίας
26	Κιλκίς
27.	Κοζάνης
28.	Κορινθίας
29.	Κυκλάδων
30	Λακωνίας
31.	Λαρίσης
32	Λασιθίου
33.	Λέσβου
34.	Λευκάδας
35.	Μαγνησίας
36.	Μεσσηνίας
37.	Ξάνθης
38.	Πέλλης
39.	Πιερίας
40.	Πρεβέζης
41.	Ρεθύμνου
42.	Ροδόπης
43.	Σάμου
44.	Σερρών
45.	Τρικάλων
46.	Φθιώτιδας
47.	Φλώρινας
48.	Φωκίδας
49.	Χαλκιδικής
50.	Χανίων
51.	Χίου
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Transliteration of 51 Prefectures (districts)

1. Aitōloakarnanias
2. Argolidas
3. Arkadias
4. Artas
5. Attikēs
6. Achaias
7. Voiōtias
8. Grevenōn
9. Dramas
10. Dōdekanēsou
11. Evrou
12. Euvoias
13. Eurutanias
14. Zakynthou
15. Ēleias
16. Ēmathias
17. Ērakleiou
18. Thesprōtias
19. Thessalonikēs
20. Iōanninōn
21. Kavalas
22. Karditsas
23. Kastorias
24. Kerkyras
25. Kefallonias
26. Kilkis
27. Kozanēs
28. Korinthias
29. Kykladōn
30. Lakōnias
31. Larisas
32. Lasithiou
33. Lesvou
34. Leukadas
35. Magnēsias
36. Messēnias
37. Xanthēs
38. Pellas
39. Pierias
40. Prevezas
41. Rethymnou
42. Rodopēs
43. Samou
44. Serrōn
45. Trikalōn
46. Fthiōtidas
47. Flōrinas
48. Fōkidas
49. Kalkidikēs
50. Chaniōn
51. Chiou

PART ONE

HISTORY OF LIFELONG LEARNING AND ADULT EDUCATION IN GREECE

CHAPTER 1

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL GREECE AS FORERUNNERS

Early and Archaic Greece

The origins of Greek civilization date to 3000 B.C., with some archaeological excavations in Corinth, Crete, and particularly in Thessaly dating to the fifth or sixth millenium B.C., a time when the human species was in the Paleolithic and Neolithic Stone Ages.

From the East the use of metal – leading to the Bronze Age – spread to Greece. By the second millenium B.C. metals, copper, and bronze were in use and a more complex urban civilization had developed. The Minoan civilization on the island of Crete represents perhaps the most highly developed example of this era among the Greeks, although colonies and settlements could be found throughout the Aegean.

Contacts between Minoan Crete and the mainland civilization of Greece resulted in the predominance of the Mycenaen civilization during the first millenium B.C. Linear A and Linear B writing systems of the Minoan and Mycaenian cultures respectively, seem to represent transitionary links between sign and character "letters" to the Greek alphabet which emerged thereafter. Since Linear B was just deciphered during 1952 by British architect Michael Ventris, we may potentially have much yet to unravel about adult learning endeavors during this period. The Trojan War (c. 1100 B.C.) – celebrated by Homer in *The Iliad* – followed by Doric invasions using weapons of iron (1100–800 B.C.), seem to have led to the decline of the Mycaenian civilization and ultimately to the growth of Greek city-states (polis) after 800 B.C.

Along with the decline of the Mycaenian civilization, however, Greek civilization had also spread to Asia Minor in the East and Sicily in the West. It is noteworthy that the Doric Greek invaders, although inferior culturally, were superior militarily thus overrunning the Mycaenean civilization. This observation constitutes a recurring pattern throughout Greek history. A highly cultured and intellectual race is conquered by those superior in warfare but with less cultured intelligence in art, literature, science, and such areas.

Between 800 and 600 B.C. political, social, and economic developments kept pace moving from aristocracy to democracy among all city-states. Although all were communities of citizens, each developed its own individuality. The most well known of the city-states, of course, are Athens and Sparta. Sparta's activities were mostly restricted to the land and agriculture, while Athens embarked, among other things, upon shipbuilding as well as building in general with the resources of marble, lime, and stone. The divergent directions of movement and the unique political and social developments had implications for the flavor of continuous learning from 500-400 B.C., as will be discussed later.

Poets as the "Schoolmasters of Grown Men"

Around this period, the legendary blind poet Homer purportedly lived. He is generally credited with writing *The Iliad*, an epic poem which provides the earliest written record of Greek history. Consequently, he might be considered one of the earliest educators of adults (as well as of children) in Greece, particularly if one were to consider as evidence Aristophanes' later assertion that "poets are the schoolmasters of grown men".

He was followed about one hundred years later by Hesiod. Unlike Homer, who was concerned with the warrior (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*), the works of Hesiod – particularly his epic poem *Works and Days* – dealt with the lives of peasants and farmers. He educated people about justice and injustice and the importance of living in harmony with self, society, and nature.

Around the seventh century B.C. lyric poetry arose. One of the most prominent figures of the genre was Sappho, a poetess from Mytilini on the island of Lesbos – the birthplace of a number of other lyric poets as well (e.g. Alcaeus, Terpander, and others). In addition to educating people about the perils of tyranny through her lyric poems, she also founded a school in Mytilini, marking the first educational institution for women. These and a number of other early poets acted as the earliest educators par excellence of the Greek people. Since poetry was easier to memorize and transmit it served as a prime vehicle of education. Literary prose arose only when written language and written materials were more available.

A Sound Mind in a Sound Body

Given that physical as well as cultural and intellectual development were considered an integral part of education and learning efforts, perhaps one of the most noteworthy developments of the period was the organization of the Pan-Hellenic Festivals where athletes, authors, poets, artists, and sculptors would meet, compete, and at the same time educate each other. The most well known, of course, were the Olympic Games which were also heralded for their role in peace education. Estimated to have officially begun in 776 B.C., they occurred every four years until 393 A.D. when they were abolished by a Roman emperor. They were not revived again until 1896. Currently, Greece is attempting to bring the Olympic Games back to the country for the 1996 centennial, and perhaps permanently.

Attempts at Unity for the City-States: The Persian Wars

The Pan-Hellenic Festivals represented an important expression of unity among otherwise isolated and disparate city-states. One other important attempted expression of unity – but only in the militaristic sense – abounded with the advent of the Persian Wars during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Although an alliance was eventually formed among the city-states to help each other against enemy invasion, during one of the most historical battles of the Persian Wars – the Battle of Marathon – aid from Sparta came too late and it was Athens alone that defeated the Persians. Marathon is considered a significant event by most historians since it gave self-confidence to the Athenian people and enabled them to later withstand Persian invasions until the final withdrawal of Persia in 479 B.C. and final peace negotiations in 448 B.C. As Bury, (1913, p. 244) put it: "The Athenians always looked back to Marathon as marking an epoch. It was as if from that day the gods said to them, go on and prosper."

Even today, in commemoration of the 490 B.C. victory over the Persians, present day Greece has, since 1972, held an Athens Open International Marathon. Organized by the Greek Federation of Athletic Associations (SEGAS), the marathon recreates the route from Marathon to Athens used for the first modern marathon held for the 1896 Athens Olympic Games.

After the Persian Wars, Athens became the main political power, as well as a leader in economic and cultural development in the Greek world. The prominence of Classical Greece is well known; less is often said, however, about the banishment of women from political life or the rise of slavery during that period. Nevertheless, the apparent fact remains that the center of intellectual gravity revolved around Athens.

The Peloponnesian War

In the meantime, however, Athens and Sparta became embroiled in a struggle which led to the Peloponnesian War, lasting from 431 to 404 B.C.; all city-states became involved in taking one side or the other. Sparta eventually sought Persian help, defeated Athens, and the empire was never again the same. The tales of these times are well chronicled by the historians Thucydides and Xenophon[1].

Sparta, having defeated Athens, took over Athenian leadership of Greece (404–395 B.C.). During this time Athens successfully overthrew Spartan rule for a short time and reestablished democracy (Spartan rule was by aristocracy). The Corinthian War (395–386 B.C.) in which Athens allied with Corinth, Thebes, and other city-states against Sparta was followed by the Peace of Antialcidas (386 B.C.) in which the Persian king (with whom Sparta had allied) gave independence to the Greek city-states, but ruled those in Asia Minor. Thebes emerged as leader under the influence of Epaminondas but slowly receded after his death in 362 B.C.

Eventually, the rise of Philip II, King of Macedon, and his defeat of Athens and Thebes in the famed Battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.), is traditionally noted as the end of freedom for the Greek city-states. Assassinated in 336 B.C., he was succeeded by his son known as Alexander the Great who defeated the Persians in 334 B.C., freed the Greek city-states in Asia Minor, then went on to conquer the "East" and "West". He died unexpectedly in 323 B.C. The period between his death and the Roman conquest of Greece (146 B.C.) is known as the Hellenistic Age, (323–146 B.C.) followed by the Graeco-Roman years (146 B.C.-330 A.D.), the Byzantine years (through 1453), and the Turkish occupation of Greece until 1821, the beginning of the Greek War of Independence, which marked the birth of modern Greece.

The rest of the chapter will examine the phenomenon of how adults continued to learn and the social structures supporting the education of adults in each of these periods. This examination, of course, is by no means designed to be a comprehensive historical analysis; it is merely intended to highlight and illustrate the idea of lifelong learning and the phenomenon of adult learning and education endeavors which have permeated Greek history.

The contribution of earlier poets, as well as cultural and athletic events in pre-classical times, have already been highlighted. The discussion will continue with the important contributions of politicians and legislation in developing a favorable learning milieu as a precursor to and foundation for the famed Classical period.

Pre-Classical and Classical Period

Despite the political history of Greece, the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. – known as the Classical Period or Greece's

Golden Age – seem to exemplify modern descriptions of a learning society, heralded as a central feature of the current worldwide movement toward lifelong learning. The idea of learning as a lifelong process abounded throughout Greece, Persia, and other areas at the time. The philosophical foundations on which it rested, however, were different in Athens. There, they were based on democratic tenets – including the involvement of all citizens – which were absent in the more militaristic state of Sparta. These democratic tenets also seem to differentiate the concept of lifelong learning as operationalized in Athens from the idea of lifelong learning as manifested in the scriptures of India or in the philosophies of ancient China. Hung (1971), for example, in undertaking a comparative study of the idea of lifelong learning in ancient Greece and China concluded that there were two major differences:

1. Lifelong learning in ancient China was the "privilege of the nobility", while in Greece it was widespread even from the time of the Persian Wars.

2. While democracy in Greece required and encouraged education and participation of the citizens in the government of the polis, the Chinese despotism discouraged learning and involvement in politics.

Growth of a Learning Society

The philosophy and practice of lifelong learning does not occur in a vacuum. The social, economic, and political context provided a solid foundation. In addition to the poets and pre-classical philosophers such as Thales, Chilon, and others, the politicians contributed greatly to the emergence and flourishing of the lifelong learning ideal. The legislation of Solon, for example, during the seventh century B.C. laid the foundation for a stable economy based on agriculture and industry. The administration of Pisistratus in the sixth century (546–527 B.C.) followed. Under his administration cultural policy supported and expanded the Pan–Hellenic festivals discussed earlier. The notion of cultural enrichment has always been an integral part of the Greek scope of education for adults as well as children. Introduced later (450 B.C.) by Pericles, was the Theorikon, a special state fund earmarked to cover attendance fees to the theater for poor people. During the fourth century the fund was expanded to include additional cultural activities (Marrou, 1964). Moreover, another law "punished with death anyone suggesting the use of these funds for army purposes during times of peace" (Oxford Classical Dictionary, 1977, p. 1059). The reader must bear in mind that the theater and other cultural events were not merely escapist in nature but an important educational medium. Greek tragedy was particularly educative in nature. As emphasized by Rostovtzeff (1963, p. 183), it created:

> an entire revolution in the minds of those who first witnessed it: they carried with them from the theatre a whole world of new conceptions and ideas; they learned to look deeper into their own hearts and to bear themselves differently towards the inner life of their neighbors.

Educative also was the phenomenon of citizen participation in government. The Ekklessia, for example, was a unique assembly of citizens, with legislative and executive powers. The consistent rotation of the boule[2] provided the oportunity for a great number of citizens to participate and learn more about governmental processes.

As Simonides later stressed, the city educated the person and this, in essence, was the concept of ancient Greek paideia on which Jaeger (1943, 1944, 1945) has written several volumes. Mumford (1956, p. 179) explained it this way:

> The word for this larger conception of education is the Greek term *Paideia*...Paideia is education looked upon as a lifelong transformation of the human personality, in which every aspect of life plays a part. Unlike education in the traditional sense, Paideia does not limit itself to the conscious learning processes, or to inducting the young into the social heritage of the community. Paideia is rather the task of giving form to the act of living itself: Treating every occasion of life as a means of self fabrication, and as a part of a larger process of converting facts into values, processes into purposes, hopes and plans into consumations and realizations. Paideia is not merely a learning: it is a making and a shaping; and man himself is the work of art that Paideia seeks to form.

Musing on today's situation he remarked (Mumford, 1956, p. 179):

> We are too easily tempted today, by habits that belong to past moments of civilization, into thinking of the kind of unity that might be achieved by a formal assembly of specialists, by an organization of "interdisciplinary activities," by an intellectual synthesis

> based upon some logical scheme for uniting the sciences. But Paideia demands far more than that kind of formal synthesis: the unity it seeks must be sought in experience, and it demands a readiness to interchange roles, even at a sacrifice of expertness, for the sake of the greater gain to learning and life. The lesson of Paideia is fundamentally the prime lesson of democracy: growth and self transformation cannot be delegated. What is more, the achievement of the human whole — and the achievement of the wholly human — take precedence over every specialized activity, over every narrower purpose.

Paideia was a concept in which learning was viewed as a way of life. Not only was learning interwoven with life and society, but the development of the whole person from life to death was stressed as well among all spheres of one's being: intellectual, emotional, physical, spiritual. A number of maxims are still with us today, for example: "a sound mind in a sound body", "know thyself", and others.

Within such a political, economic, and social context and supported by legislation, it was the philosophers whose constant intellectual search brought learning to the people. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and Xenophon were among the prime shapers.

Volumes have been written on Socrates who considered that 70 years of learning were not enough for an individual's growth and who offered the Socratic method[3] of questioning as a means of equipping one for lifelong learning. His student, Plato, and Aristotle, the student of Plato, are also well known figures in Western civilization.

Lewis (1980) focused on both Plato and Aristotle to support her thesis that not only were metaphysical and theoretical bases for lifelong learning present in the writings of the two philosophers (*Republic* and *Laws* of Plato; *Nichomachean Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle), but that lifelong learning was practiced in Greece during the fourth century B.C.

Plato contributed to lifelong learning not only through his ideas, but also more tangibly in the establishment of his famous Academy (about 387 B.C.) which flourished until 529 A.D. Likewise, Aristotle founded his Peripatetic School in 335 B.C. Quite important is the fact that Aristotle was the teacher of Alexander the Great, upon whom he seems to have exerted a profound influence.

Another learning resource emerging during this period were the Sophists, who in essence were travelling "lecturers" specializing in and focusing on rhetoric and the art of public speaking. These were the skills they were interested in developing in their learners. It is important to remember that in Classical Greece, however, education (Paideia) meant development of the whole person. Consequently, the Sophists found opposition from the philosophers, especially from Plato and Isocrates. Isocrates, particularly, criticized the Sophists for supplying "ready-made" material to students (Walden, 1912, p. 18). Plato's contention focused upon what he saw as a utilitarian and self-seeking approach and suspect moral values in the Sophists.

Moreover, unlike other education which was free, the Sophists charged fees thus excluding the poorer citizens. An exception, of course, was the public "display" rendered by the Sophists at the Agora or at the gymnasia and palestrae which were built at public expense and open to everyone.

As Freeman (1907, p. 124) points out:

> The gymnasia were always full of citizens of all ages, practicing or watching others practice [exercise and sport]; they were a fashionable place of resort, where Sophists lectured in the big halls and philosophers taught in the shady gardens.

A number of public learning opportunities, then, were available: the gymnasia and palestraes; the theaters and public festivals (e.g. Papathenaea, Dionysia, etc.); the assembly of citizens; the exhibits; and public lectures by itinerant Sophists, philosophers and other lecturers. Everyday mingling also occurred in the Agora, or marketplace, where many important or unimportant issues were discussed, ideas exchanged, plans made, etc.

Besides public meetings, social activities – such as personal celebrations or symposia – provided extra educational opportunities. Plato's Symposium[4] is a good example. Moreover, the ample leisure time enjoyed by Athenian citizens (Marrou, 1964; Kitto, 1976; Thucydides, 1963, II, p. 38) gave them the opportunity to become self-directing and to view education as a lifelong process and pursuit. Through such means as Socratic dialogue, practiced daily in the Agora, or in the institutions of higher education (Ephebeia, Academy, Lyceum, etc.), individuals drew upon each other as resources for learning. Thus, continuous education through a multitude of private and public sources and resources, the economic affluence and the naval power of Athens (inextricably intertwined with its political freedom, model constitution, and good administration), converged to form the basis for continuous growth and operationalization of Paideia (Kitto, 1976; Thucydides, 1963, II, p. 37).

Neither before nor after Classical Greece does any culture or society seem to have reached such a peak or approximated this vision. An all-pervasive educational environment provided the food for the nourishment of the many restless minds of citizens. This upward educational spiral produced the first learning society that possessed higher concentration of geniuses in relation to its total population than any other society at any other place and time (Kitto, 1976; Mumford, 1956). Also, as described by Freeman (1907, p. 286):

> Grown citizens retained throughout life an affection for education, and went on educating themselves all their lives ...Children too, seeing how much their elders were preoccupied with education, found it even more attractive than its designers had made it, since they were not constrained by nursery-logic to see in it one of the plagues of youth from which grownups were set free.

The legacy left by ancient Greece to modern day efforts is great, particularly if one analyzes the factors which seem to have led not only to the flourishing but more important to the decline of Paideia and lifelong learning in ancient Greece (Boucouvalas & Michopoulos, 1985).

Paideia flourished in Greece, especially in Athens, because of the fertile soil it found there. A careful examination of its growth shows that a beneficial configuration of factors was responsible. First and foremost was the climate of freedom that prevailed from early times in the Greek world. This freedom reached its climax in Athens after the Persian Wars, when a number of political and administrative changes broadened and deepened the democratization process that had started there at the turn of the sixth century. The basis for this change, however, is to be found in the monumental work of Solon and Pisistratus, whose administrative and legal reforms unleashed the creative powers of the Athenians. Within a century, the tremendous energy generated from this environment of freedom, free inquiry, general education, and good administration, propelled Athens to a higher plane, where it became the unquestionable educational, cultural, and economic leader of its time. In a way, the phenomenal growth of Athens brought about its fall, because "its adventurous spirit [would not only] force an entry into every sea and into every land" (Thucydides, 1963, II, p. 41), but would also clad Athens with a hubristic attitude toward its friends and foes alike. This hubris seems to have contributed to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.). The tremendous stress of that war adversely affected both the polis and its people, who subsequently fined Pericles, forced Thucydides to self-exile, and sentenced Socrates to death. Upon closer inspection, a number of specific social, political, and economic factors seemed to contribute to the decline of Paideia.

Decline of Paideia

Social Factors. The period after the Persian Wars saw the swift rise of the naval, industrial, and commercial power of Athens, which in combination with its cultural and intellectual supremacy, turned it into the paideusis of Greece. At times, however, the unbridled freedom of its citizens and their deviation from the concept of moderation and balance, as advocated in the "Golden Mean", proved fatal to its further growth and development. Socrates and Plato had already expressed their concern over what they saw as the deleterious effects of the Sophists' Paideia, which they criticized as lacking a moral underpinning.

Moreover, public life showed signs of hubris and arrogance in stressful situations (Kitto, 1976). A concomitant abuse of power and mob rule resulted as Athenians started to act as "imperial" citizens, ill-treating their allies or their own generals (Thucydides, 1963, V, p. 116), and choosing as leaders people of questionable moral fiber (Thucydides, 1963, VI, pp. 89-93). This arrogance, laxity in moral standards, emotionalism, and authoritarian behavior of both citizens and leaders, toward the end of the fifth and during the fourth centuries, were especially evident during the Peloponnesian War. This war brought a tremendous devastation to Greece and Athens in particular. The decline was further manifested in the short-lived oligarchic government of the "thirty tyrants" (c. 403 B.C.).

Political Factors. The Peloponnesian War brought an end to an era of prosperity and political stability for Athens. After the death of Pericles and Nicias, Athens witnessed some of its worst political upheavals, which affected both the outcome of the war and its stature as the champion of freedom and democracy. It seems that citizens lost that self-discipline, integrity, and personal responsibility which had previously characterized them (Kitto, 1976, p. 128). Instead, they grew tense, tumultuous, and unruly. The resulting insecurity and lack of confidence induced them to vote for seemingly strong leaders (such as Alcibiades, Cleon) who, in essence, by their arrogance and quest for personal aggrandizement were weak to their own egos and caused havoc to the State (Kitto, 1976; Thucydides, 1963). Unfortunately, the populace was unable to see through the various demagogues and heed the warnings of prudent citizens such as Socrates or Thucydides.

The spiritual and material exhaustion that the Peloponnesian War caused to all participants — the fall of Athens (404 B.C.) was followed by Sparta's own defeat by Thebes at Leuctra (360 B.C.) — facilitated the rise of the Macedonian star, which conquered Greece and ran its course with the conquests of Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.). In vain, Isocrates and other moderates warned the populace against the demagogues or "animal trainers", according to Plato, and stated that "true culture is impossible in a society dominated by demagogues and sycophants" (Jaeger, 1944, p. 153).

Unfortunately, a permanent change in the temper of the people was the result: the rise of individualism, and loss of the sense for the common interest which characterized them previously. Moreover, one witnesses a lack of will to strive for something higher, for something that entails risks but also provides great rewards (Kitto, 1976).

Economic Factors. The defeat of Athens by Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (404 B.C.) marked the first major blow against the Athenian Empire. The battle of Chaeronea (338 B.C.) marked the end of the Empire and of Athens as a protagonist in world affairs. The star of Macedonia would rule over Greece and a large part of the world for over two hundred years. The role of Athens changed in this new world. It still remained an intellectual, economic, and commercial center, but new centers of industry and culture emerged in the Hellenistic world, which drew resources from and provided competition to the old centers.

Hundreds of new Greek cities, most notably Alexandria and Antioch, sprang up in Alexander's Empire and required a great deal of the human and intellectual resources from mainland Greece. Thus Greece, and Athens in particular, experienced a brain drain, which left them weak (Plutarch, 1960). Depopulated of youth and intellect, Greece and Athens became easy prey to the Roman legions in 146 B.C. and again lost their freedom, but not to a Greek this time. This loss of freedom diminished their creative force and also spread their already stressed intellectual resources thinner, as they became the teachers of the expanded Roman Empire.

It seems, then, that progress and change, among other factors, proved serious enemies to the polis of Athens. First, Athens became the victim of its expansion and success. The polis was well equipped to handle its own affairs. Its enlargement to an empire, however, with additional administrative, political, military, and other responsibilities, brought much stress to its structure. To handle these new demands of expansion and specialization the polis had to change its role; but its new role as an empire was incompatible with its role as a city-state, and that broke down the polis (Kitto, 1976).

Competition, progress, and change, then, brought the "coup de grace" to Athens. Philip and Alexander turned Athens and Greece into a small part of a huge empire. In addition to the loss of its political freedom, Athens had to compete with new industrial, commercial, and intellectual centers. Its force and intellect did not diminish overnight, but certainly its preeminence was questioned over time, with such a strong competition and reduced resources.

Consequently, it appears that Paideia as a life force lost its vitality, because it lost its nourishment: political and social freedom, economic power, humanitarian leaders, and other elements. However, the foundation laid by these early efforts forms an integral part of the continuity and character of learning and education in Greece. In both helpful and harmful ways "classical ideals" have affected the growth and manifestation of adult learning in today's Greece [as is further discussed in Chapter Four].

Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman Years

We have seen, then, that the rise of Philip II, King of Macedonia, followed by the conquests of his son Alexander the Great, led to the Hellenistic era or period in Greek history, followed by the Graeco-Roman period.

Hellenistic Greece. The soldiers of Alexander, in effect, became teachers of the world, as Greek culture and learning spread east. "His colonization opened a new era in the economic life of the ancient world...the transformation of the oriental marts into business centres of a type hitherto unknown to the East," (Rostovzeff, 1941, p. 133). Although consistent warfare permeated the Hellenistic Age after the death of Alexander, Greek culture had spread throughout the enlarged empire. In fact, Greek civilization spread throughout the ancient world. New centers of industry and culture emerged in the Hellenistic world, drawing human and intellectual resources from mainland Greece. Depopulation and a "brain drain" eventually made Athens easy prey for the eventual Roman conquest in 146 B.C., as noted earlier. The center of Greek culture also shifted to the East from Athens to Alexandria.

During these years (323-146 B.C.), however, much of the basic knowledge upon which Western civilization is based was founded (e.g. Euclid, Ptolemy, and others). Also, the first public libraries were established in Alexandria and Antioch. Alexandria became the largest Greek city in the world. Libraries, museums, gymnasia, and learned societies enjoyed a prominent presence and many cultural events were open to the public (Rostovzeff, 1941). As further explained by Rostovtzeff (1963, p. 33):

> It was typical of the Hellenistic Age that learning and the importance of learning were then for the first time recognized and appreciated by the state. The private philosophic schools still went on; but side by side with them rose the first public establishments for the encouragement of literature and science. The Museum (or "Home of the Muses") at Alexandria was the first learned society maintained by the state.

Its library was said to have been the most extensive in the world. It was burned, however, in the second century A.D.

The Hellenistic culture went on to become an integral part of the Roman and Byzantine Empires. As noted by Vacalopoulos (1976), despite these changes Greek identity remained strong and a sense of national cohesion among the Greek people was not broken.

The Graeco-Roman Period

Between 200 and 146 B.C. Rome gradually brought Greece under its domination and became the "protector" of Greece. As tradition has it, however, Greece hellenized Rome in the process.

During the second century B.C. Neoclassicism arose in art and during 176 B.C. the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius established a university in Athens. It was not until 31 B.C. that Greece became part of the Roman Empire. When Rome became dominant, things shifted West again and although Alexandria remained a center of learning, Athens experienced a cultural revival. During 27 B.C. the Roman Emperor Augustus had the Roman Agora constructed in Athens and the city became acclaimed as a center of learning. At the same time, Greek intellectuals were working in Rome.

Byzantine Era

The Roman pagan empire gradually transformed into the Christian empire. The beginning of the Byzantine period is officially marked by the founding of Byzantium as the Eastern Roman Empire in 330 A.D. by Emperor Constantine, who later converted to Christianity and caused Christianity to be officially recognized by the State. Byzantium was originally founded by Byzas, a Greek merchant navigator, during 657 B.C. as a strategic and commercial seaport. Later named Constantinople, after Constantine the Great, it gradually developed as the center of Greek culture.

During 395 A.D. Emperor Theodosius formally divided the Empire into East and West. Athens remained the center for philosophy and non-Christian culture until 529 A.D., when Emperor Justinian closed the university there. Since the university was considered to represent pagan Hellenism, the act was illustrative of a continuous clash between paganism and Christianity in the early years. Earlier, in 394 A.D., the Olympic Games were forbidden as part of an effort to remove old "religions".

With the downfall of the Western Empire in 476 A.D. due to barbarian invasions, Constantinople replaced Rome as capital of the Roman Empire. Since the Byzantine era is one of the longest periods in the history of Greece, manifestations of adult learning and education will be chronicled by spans of centuries.

From the fourth through the sixth century, as noted by Vasiliev (1952, p. 117):

> Alexandria still remained the prime center for learning, although literary centers were arising in other areas – particularly Antioch, the Syrian center of culture. Constantinople was only beginning to show signs of literary activity. Constantinople started as a political center and only gradually became an intellectual and artistic center.

During the fourth century, but starting in the third century, monasticism – mostly hermetic – began. The importance of monasticism to an understanding of adult education forces lies in its contribution to preparing counselors, administrators, theologians, as well as preachers. The first monastic *community*, however, is considered to be Mount Athos, near Thessaloniki, which was not established until the tenth century.

The mid-sixth to the mid-seventh century was known as the first golden age. Historians and chroniclers proliferated. Although Christianity had taken root it was a period still connected with the classical for a while even after the closing of the university in Athens in 529 A.D., as noted before.

The mid-seventh to the mid-eighth century is considered the darkest epoch of the Byzantine period, particularly since energy was directed to defense against invading enemies. Some Greeks were forced to flee to southern Italy during the Slav invasions, but ended up having a positive influence on culture and learning there.

As Nicol (1979, p. 47) reminds us: "Byzantium had its dark age in the seventh and eighth century but at the end of it education revived and flourished as though there had been little interruption..." In the ages after the Fourth Crusade – when the Byzantines had to pick up the pieces of the tradition in exile – education, scholarship, art and culture were not allowed to die out. Although admittedly, as Nicol (p. 49) adds: "higher education was an elitist pursuit and much of it was clearly imparted through an individual or tutorial relationship between scholar and pupil rather than on an institutional basis".

During the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth century, however, efforts were made to make education accessible to everyone. Barda (uncle of Emperor Michael III) organized a school of higher learning in Constantinople and proclaimed that the school would be free of charge to everyone. The school became a center to which the best minds of the Empire were attracted. Photius, a teacher, became a central force in the ninth century. In fact (Vasiliev, 1952, p. 297):

> a kind of reading club seems to have existed at the house of Photius where a select circle of his friends assembled to read aloud literature of all kinds, secular and religious, pagan and Christian. The rich library of Photius was at the service of his friends.

It remains unclear, however, what role the "free" school played in extending learning and education beyond an elitist domain. It is an area which certainly seems to warrant further inquiry by historians and other researchers.

The mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh century, known as the Macedonian epoch, witnessed an increased regard for the civilization of ancient Greece (Vacalopoulos, 1970, p. 24). Emperor Leo VI, a pupil of Photius, continued the intellectual atmosphere created by Photius. "Leo favored and protected all men of learning and letters; in his time...the imperial palace was sometimes transformed into a new academy and lyceum" (Vasiliev, 1952, p. 362).

During the tenth century Emperor Constantine VIII Porphyrogenitus protected education and the intellectual progress of Byzantium. By the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century creative activity declined somewhat. Emperor Basil II treated scholars with disdain and learning was neglected by the majority of the people. Higher education with governmental support on a wide scale was revived only in the middle of the eleventh century (Vasiliev, 1952).

A learned circle of men of the eleventh century, led by the philosopher-scholar Psellus and others, urged the revival of higher learning facilities. A university was established in Constantinople in 1045. As well as inculcating learners in Greek philosophy and Roman laws, the university served a practical purpose in providing the state with qualified judges and civil servants (Ostrogorsky, 1968, p. 328). In actuality, there were two schools in the university: a philosophical school geared to general education, and a professional law school geared to more practical aims. The original aim of the university, however, at its beginning in 1044 as a legal school, was to educate administrative employees.

The twelfth century is considered the first Hellenic Renaissance in the history of Byzantium. The celebrated figure of the twelfth century was Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessaloniki. "His house in Constantinople...became a center around which the best minds of the capital...collected" (Vasiliev, 1952, p. 495).

This was also the century of the Crusades, launched by Western Europe to resist invasions of the Turks in the east and the Normans in the west. The Fourth Crusade, however, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, resulted in an overthrow of the Byzantine government in Constantinople, replacing it with a Latin ruler in 1204. Greek monastaries were developed in southern Italy by monks who had fled during the invasions. At the same time the churches started to serve as community centers and discussion places.

During the thirteenth century, after the ruin of the Empire in 1204, separate Greek states formed. One state, Nicaea, became the hotbed of culture. The first ruler of Nicaea, Theodore I Pascaris was interested in the problem of learning. His successor, John III Ducas Vatatzes, founded libraries and satisfied the cultural needs of the population. He also allowed books to be borrowed for home reading. A number of people, including the brothers Mesaritai, promoted cultural work which laid the foundation for spiritual and political regeneration of the Byzantine Empire's restoration in 1261. Nicaea, therefore, became a bridge from the first Renaissance under Comneni to the second Hellenic Renaissance under Paleologos (Vasiliev, 1952, pp 555-563).

During the fourteenth century under Paleologos the Empire, although receding to the invasions of the Ottoman Turks, still remained vibrant. Constantinople was still a center of culture and learning; its schools attracted people from afar, including Italy then in the middle of the Renaissance. People were conscious of the enormous debt owed the past – that is, to Classical Greece. This century was also known as the golden age of Thessaloniki as an important center of Greek scholarship. The roots of the modern day cooperative movement [discussed in Chapter 4] can also be traced to Thessaloniki and the formation of tselingata[5] during this century.

Particularly critical was the dense nucleus of scholars interested in the problems of injustice and social inequality. Their writings about the reformation of society and the state provided inspiration to later activists (Vacalopoulos, 1970, pp. 53–54). The immigration westward, however, continued. During 1396, for example, the scholar Chrysoloras took a position with the University of Florence. Discussions at his home were common complements and supplements to university teachings.

During the fifteenth century, as the pressing onset of the Ottoman Turks made life increasingly more difficult, many scholars fled to the West, taking with them their manuscripts and library collections. Italy particularly gained with an accumulation of literary treasures. As Vasiliev (1952, p. 722) comments: "By transmitting classical works to the West and thereby saving them from destruction at the hands of the Turks, Byzantium performed great service for the future destinies of mankind."

The fall of Byzantium to the Turks is marked by the year 1453. Gennadius Scholarius was appointed the first Patriarch of Constantinople under Turkish power. During this year, in fact, he established the Patriarchial Academy in Constantinople.

Turkish Occupation and Rule

The year 1453, along with marking the fall of Byzantium, generally marks the beginning of the complete subjugation of Greece to Turkish rule. The first hundred years are recognized by historians as the bleakest and most difficult.

The Empire had fallen, scholars had fled westward, and manuscripts often went with them. Hellenic scholarship had also shifted to the West. By the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, however, Greeks began to recover from an inertia which had overcome them. Greek schools started to appear all over Greece. In fact, as noted by Vacalopoulos (1976, p. 181):

> by the end of the sixteenth century, Athens...supported many Greek schools which were attended not only by children but also by many older notables. Moreover, many Greek people living [abroad]...had made provisions in their wills for the establishment and maintenance of schools in their birthplaces.

This nationalistic demeanor of the Greek people is a characteristic which can be observed throughout the history of Greece to the present day.

During the end of the sixteenth and continuing into the seventeenth century formation of academies also surfaced which, as Vacalopoulos (1976, p. 182) explains:

> resembled literary clubs after the style of those that had appeared during the Italian Renaissance, which they consciously imitated. Their membership consisted of votaries of Greek and Latin studies who came together regularly, whether in a closed circle or in public, to discuss science, politics, and especially literature.

The Academy of Stravaganti, founded in Canea, Crete around 1590, and the Academy Delgi Assicurati on Corfu around 1656, are a few examples.

Also during the seventeenth century (1600–1680) an abortive cultural revival was attempted under Church leadership. Chief figure of this movement was Patriarch Cyril Lucaris who collaborated with Theophilos Korydaleus. The general level of education was very low during this period. According to the analysis of Theocharides (1971) – discussed later in conjunction with the Greek Enlightenment – the effort failed because the Greeks thought they could elevate themselves by their own powers, without association with the West. Lucaris was eventually executed by the Turks, but not before he was successful in establishing, with Korydaleus, the Great School of the Nation during 1661 in Constantinople, the express purpose of which was to raise the cultural standard of the Greek nation.

In 1669 the Patmos School was established, followed in 1723 by the Evangelical School of Hiereotheos Dendrinos (Theocharides, 1971, p. 271). Unfortunately, by the seventeenth century the Patriarchal Academy established in 1453 by Gennadius Scholarius had become moribund.

The development, also during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of self-governing institutions seemed to have had an educative function for the Greek people. The gradual development of self-governing institutions was erratic and they were more developed in some areas than in others. Zakythinos (1976, p. 57) describes the main self-governing institution – the commune – as "a legal entity, independent of the administration of the ruling power, but nevertheless enjoying its toleration". Moreover, "every town or village, other than those which belonged to feudal estates, might combine to form a commune". The deed for the commune of Mykonos, for example, dates from 1615. In some areas all inhabitants were eligible to run for election as administrative officers.

Ampelakia, in Thessaly, provides an interesting and distinctive example of a self-governing commune. Although it was initially settled in the seventeenth century, it reached its zenith in the mid-eighteenth century when the Association and Brotherhood of Ampelakia was founded. It is considered the first cooperative association to actually lay down and go by principles of cooperation. Scholars estimate the date of founding somewhere between 1774 and 1779. Consequently, the year 1780 as a founding date is generally given as a conservative estimate (Louis & Mavrogiannis, 1975; Mavrogiannis, 1975). The date, however, certainly precedes the famous Rochdale pioneers in England who are generally recognized as the first cooperative worldwide, and who are credited with laying down the Rochdale Principles of Cooperation which are said to have provided basic guidelines over the years for both agricultural and consumer cooperatives.

Ampelakia seems to have set historical precedence over Rochdale and other efforts in its multicultural character (i.e. extension of trading post networks throughout Europe, as well as Turkey). The spirit of cooperation which developed initially to process and market their product – cotton dyed red by a closely guarded secret – led them to realize how much they were being exploited by merchants and consequently caused them to unite even further.

This unity, the hallmark of Ampelakia, extended to the entire community. Since education of the citizens to solve community problems became a high priority, present day community and adult educators may want to further study this model and efforts. Unfortunately, it went bankrupt in 1811, possibly because it did not found its own bank (Louis & Mavrogiannis, 1975).

By the late nineteenth century, however, after the liberation of Greece from Turkish rule, every part of Greece witnessed brotherhoods of cotton spinners, fishermen, etc. The spirit of cooperation was much in evidence (Kokides, 1948; Mavrogiannis, 1982).

Ampelakia, however, set historic precedence in Greece. Even today a women's agro-industrial tourist cooperative exists in the same geographical area [as discussed further in Chapter 4].

Zakythinos (1976) stresses the importance of these self-governing units to the religious and national survival of the Greeks, as well as to their self-preservation. Historians, however, disagree on the origins of these units – some claiming they date to Byzantine, others to Roman, times.

During the last decade of the eighteenth century Masonic lodges were founded in Greek communities (Dakin, 1972), as well as other brotherhoods – many socio-religious in nature – which served as sources of support both moral and financial to needy members. In addition to associations and brotherhoods, unions of artisans or guilds proliferated in Greece during the Turkish occupation. United by a common interest of trade, the groups enabled members to learn from each other as resources for learning. Historians, however, have uncovered such professional organizations even in ancient Greece, and Byzantium itself seems to have had a guild tradition (Vacalopoulos, 1970, pp. 206–210).

As trading and commerce continued to develop, Greece – ideally located (geographically speaking) at crossroads between the East and West – began to grow economically and socially. The buildup of trade in turn formed a middle class who became conscious of their oppression.

Some moved away to form colonies elsewhere, particularly with the founding of Greek commercial companies overseas. These individuals, together with the Phanariots[6] who, in acting as translators for Turkish administrative transactions throughout the world, recognized the importance of freedom from Turkish rule. They thus attracted the attention of Philhellenes from both Europe and Great Britain, who were still influenced by the entire Greek Renaissance period which resurrected the glories of ancient Greece.

In addition to the above contributions, Greek scholars from previous years who had successfully fled to different parts of Western Europe (but who retained their Greek identity), became concerned with the plight of Greek bondage in light of its glorious past. Within such a climate the French Enlightenment exerted a powerful influence on the subsequent Greek Enlightenment (1750–1821), according to the central thesis of a study by Theocharides (1971), noted earlier.

According to his analysis Nikolaos Mavrokordatos – the first Phanariot prince – set the trend by learning the French language, thus creating a favorable milieu into which the French Enlightenment could penetrate (p. 13). Chief proponent, however, was Adamantios Korais. Assisted by the Greek communities abroad, which continued to support their fatherland, all-out efforts were launched to educate the Greek people about their own nationalistic roots, as well as about the new developments in science and other areas of knowledge in the West. At their own expense, the Zosimas brothers, for example, who had settled abroad, helped Korais in publishing for Greek consumption. Korais is also noted for his development of Katherevousa.[7]

Theocharides (1971) offers about eight major "teachers of the nation", as he calls them who were prominent during this period.

1. Eugenios Voulgaris (1716–1806) was the first to attempt to systematically modernize the Greek world.

2. Nikephoros Theotokis (1731–1800) introduced Western physics to Greece for the first time.

3. Demetrios Katarzis (c. 1720–1807) encouraged young Greeks in intellectual pursuits and tried to change the language to the Demotike (see footnote 7).

4. Iosepos Moisiodax (c. 1730–1800), of Romanian rather than Greek origin, was the first to introduce the educational ideas of Locke into Greece. Moreover he felt that the excessive attachment of Greeks to the achievements of their ancestors would lead to sterility.

5. Veniamin Lesvios (1762–1824), a monk and teacher of science, contributed greatly to the popularization of science by writing in a language all could understand.

6. Rhigas Velestinlis (c. 1757–1798) wanted a liberated Greece, but transcended nationalism. He stressed the necessity for all citizens to become literate and felt that the State was responsible for establishing an institution in this regard.

7. Athanasios Psalidas (1767–1829) was one of the most famous teachers of Io–annina (still the name of a district in Northern Greece – see map on page xvi). He served as head of a school specifically founded in order to propagate the new learning.

8. Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), mentioned earlier in connection with development of the Katharevousa language.

Other prominent figures included Karatzis who translated Voltaire into Greek, and the Poulios brothers who published the Greek periodical *Ephimeris* starting during 1790 in Vienna until it was closed by the Austrian government in 1797.

A struggle ensued between traditionalists and progressivists, the latter of whom established "The New Schools," which included: The Io–annina School, The Academy of Mount Athos, The Greek School of Jassey, The Greek School of Bucharest, The Higher School of Chios, The Kydonies Gymnasium, The Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna, The Kurucheshmeh Higher School, and The Higher School of Andros. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the Western world reawakened to ancient Greece culture, spurred on by the discovery of Greek temples in Southern Italy (1738-1765) and the attention drawn to the plight of the Greek people after an unsuccessful revolt against the Turks during 1770.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a number of societies had been formed for cultural education of the people. For example the Philomous Etairia (Society of Friends of the Muses) founded in Athens in 1813, had as its aim the cultural regeneration of the Greek nation. The society sought to support schools and other scholarship, as well as to support archaeological excavation. Although some of these developments may have had ancillary political aims in drawing the Greek people together within a strong national consciousness, the establishment of the Philiki Etairia (Friendly Society) in 1814, however, had decidedly political aims to liberate Greece through armed revolt. This feat was accomplished and by 1821, the Greek War of Independence from Turkish rule had begun. The role that adult education had played in this process was decisive.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN MODERN GREECE

Historical Context: From 1821 to the Present

The year 1821 marks the beginning of the Greek War of Independence from Ottoman Turkish rule. By 1827, Great Britain and France, concerned with the potential loss of Greece from the "West," allied with Russia and a combined fleet defeated the Turks on October 20, 1827 at the famed Battle of Navarino. A victory for the Russians in 1828-1829 led to the Treaty of Adrianople on September 14, 1829 in which Greece's autonomy was recognized by Turkey. A proposal for complete independence was ratified on February 3, 1830. The new state, however, did not include all of modern day Greece. The Ionian Islands were added by 1864; Thessaloniki by 1882; Epiros, Macedonia, and Crete after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913); and the Dodecanese Islands by 1947 (formally annexed in 1948).

On May 11, 1832, Great Britain, France, and Russia signed a treaty with Bavaria which sent Prince Otto of Bavaria to Greece to establish an independent monarchy. He reigned as King from 1832 to 1862; during 1844 a constitutional monarchy was established. He was followed by King George I (of Denmark) who reigned from 1863 to 1913; during 1864 a parliamentary democracy was formed.

By 1893 Greece declared national bankruptcy and for decades afterward its economy was under the scrutiny and regulation of the International Finance Commission. During these years Greeks started emigrating, although some Greeks had emigrated as early as the 1700s founding, for example, New Smyrna in the State of Florida, U.S.A. (Panagopoulos, 1966, 1978). By the turn of the twentieth century this trend had increased. In fact, according to Papacosma (1983), nearly 400,000 Greeks left between 1900 and 1921.

In 1910 Eleftherios Venizelos was called to Greece (from Crete) and became Prime Minister. Under his administration the constitution was revised and the administration overhauled.

Shortly thereafter, during 1912 and 1913 respectively, the

Two Balkan Wars were waged, as a result of which Turkey lost almost all its European possessions. Epirus, part of Macedonia, and most of the Aegean Islands were returned to Greece. These victories gave the Greek people a new sense of confidence and self-respect. Economic and social advances followed at least until the extension of World War I to Greece around 1917.

With this new-found confidence came an insistent resurgence of the "The Great (Meghali) Idea" which had been incubating for centuries among the Greeks. Venizelos led the minds and hearts of the Greek people in hope of making the Great Idea a reality. Since the fall of Byzantium in 1453, Greece and the Greek people had harbored the hope and dream of a greater Greece as it once was, particularly of a Greek Christian civilization in Asia Minor. The essence of the Great Idea was that Constantinople – and with it Smyrna and Asia Minor – would once again belong to the Greeks.

In the interim, King George was assassinated in 1913 and his son Constantine I took the throne. Struggles erupted between Constantine, a pro-German, and Venizelos due to the King's reluctance to enter World War I on the side of the Allies. The tension produced a national schism between the royalists (pro-Constantine) and republicans (pro-Venizelos) that was to affect the country for years to come. By 1917, however, King Constantine abdicated the throne to his son Alexander and Greece joined the Allies. Under a peace settlement (Treaty of Sevres) following World War I, Greece was given administration of Smyrna (west coast of Asia Minor). The fruition of the Great Idea now seemed plausible. Turkish forces, however, drove out the Greeks who sued for peace in 1922 (the year 1919 was the first time the Greek army set foot in Asia Minor since the fall of Byzantium). The Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 fixed the Graeco-Turkish boundaries at the Euros River and ended Greek rule in Asia Minor. Under a separate special treaty an exchange of population was conducted, whereby Turks living in the Macedonia area were exchanged for Greeks living in Asia Minor.

This exchange seems overnight to have increased the population in Greece by 25% (Sweet-Escot, 1954, p.5). Hellenism in Asia Minor, with its long history, had come to an end. The Great Idea, which had been burning for centuries was buried forever. To add to the injury, before the exchange transpired the Turks had massacred populations of both Greeks and Armenians.

Shortly thereafter, the monarch was ousted and in 1924 Greece became a republic. The early years, however, were difficult. In 1925, General Pangalos seized power and became dictator, which Kondylis tried to unsuccessfully assume in 1926. A coalition cabinet served during 1927, and by 1928 Venizelos was again Prime Minister until 1935 when a plebiscite reestablished the monarchy. King George II returned, and in 1936 General John Metaxas was appointed Prime Minister. Later that year Metaxas dissolved parliament and set up a dictatorship. When he died in 1941, the country was run by a series of coalitions until 1952, when Papagos became Prime Minister.

The decade of the 1940s was a particularly critical one for Greece. Although details are outside the scope of this brief sketch', it is important to understand that the Germans occupied Greece during World War II, from 1941 to 1944, causing widespread starvation. Liberation of Greece, however, was followed by a short civil war (1944–1945) between communist and other factions, which was quelled with the aid of Great Britain.

In 1946 a plebiscite again returned the monarch (George II) to Greece. In the same year a more extensive civil war erupted. Britain, feeling drained, called upon United States aid which resulted in the well known Truman Doctrine in which the United States pledged support to both Greece and Turkey to halt the spread of communism.

George II died in 1947 and his brother Paul became King. By 1949 the Civil War ended and the Communist Party became temporarily outlawed in Greece.

With the end of the civil war, reconstruction started. Although family ties were still strong, more women started entering the work force and professional life (Kousoulos, 1974, p. 226). In 1951 women were given the right to vote in parliamentary elections and during the legislative elections of 1956 women voted for the first time. In the same year Greece joined NATO, and in general experienced an improvement and extension of foreign relations including trade agreements with a number of countries. After the Cyprus dispute' in the mid–fifties amicable relations were restored with Great Britain.

The period of the 1950s through the early 1960s is a time which was primarily concerned with transforming the economy – i.e. financial and economic recovery – and modernizing Greece. Legislation and action to modernize Greece abounded under the leadership of Papagos until 1955 and thereafter under the leadership of Constantine Karamanlis – a statesman whom some have called the "restorer of Greek democracy" (Woodhouse, 1982) – who served as Prime Minister until 1963. The development of tourism was further extended and the Olympic Airways Corporation founded. Schools, hospitals, and athletics all became free. A Secretary–General of Athletics was appointed and legislation expanded the educational scene.

During this period, government support of and attention to adult education also came to the forefront, as discussed later, with the establishment of legislation and a functional Office of Adult Education at the national level, and a national director.

In 1963 Karamanlis resigned after a dispute with King Paul (who died in 1964 and was succeeded by his son Constantine II). Coalition governments handled matters until 1964 when the Center Union Party of George Papandreou (father of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou) was victorious and Papandreou became Prime Minister.

In 1965 Papandreou resigned – or as some writers (Papacosma, 1983) put it, was "forced out" – because of an insoluble difference with King Constantine II. On April 21, 1967 a military junta took over the government. Papandreou and others were put under house arrest; others fled, including the King and his family who fled to Italy.

In 1974 Karamanlis emerged again to guide the country to free elections. Moreover, a plebiscite voted to abolish the monarchy and to establish Greece as a republic. During 1975 a new constitution was drawn and major legislative changes initiated. Democracy was again restored. Political parties – including the Communists – were allowed to reemerge. It was during this time, in 1974, that the PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party) was officially founded.

In 1980 Karamanlis was elected President and resigned as Prime Minister, a post which George Rallis then occupied. In January 1981 Greece was admitted as a full member of the European Economic Community (EEC). Later that year in the elections, held during October 1981, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party (PASOK) won a clear majority and its leader, Andreas Papandreou, became Prime Minister. The first socialist government in Greek history was reelected in June 1985 [as is further discussed in Chapter 3 on the present context of adult education endeavors].

This outline of historical events should serve as a backdrop to better understand the context of adult education efforts and manifestations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. [A more detailed contextual framework for the years 1981 to present is presented in Chapter 3.]

Appearance, Evolution, and Development of Adult Education:

From 1821 to the Present

Modern Greece, as we have seen, evolved piecemeal over a period of a century. Major driving forces in adult education efforts, particularly throughout the nineteenth century, seemed to reflect and contribute to the ambience of the times: to heal a broken nation and make it whole again.

The Nineteenth Century

The Public Sector

Greece was reestablished as a free state during this time. The Greek nation was anxious and eager to set into force operational structures. Around 1830, legislation was established for the Greek educational system. Dimaris (1978) offers a chronicle. During 1834 a law on primary education was enacted (a translation of the French law of 1833), followed by a law on secondary education in 1836, and in 1837 a law which established a university in Athens, the latter following the German pattern. Interestingly, 1834 was the same year during which Athens was chosen as a capital. Other college level type facilities established around this time included the National Technical University of Athens and a Higher School of Fine Arts, both founded in 1836. Earlier, in 1831, the American School of Classical Studies had been founded. Governed by a committee of American and Canadian universities, it was considered as a research institute as well as a post-graduate school for students of classics.

Attention to adult education matters, however, seemed missing from public efforts, with the exception of the establishment of the National Library in 1828. Since libraries provide an important auxiliary service for adult learners, it seems noteworthy to mention the establishment also of the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, (founded in 1844, but burned and rebuilt during 1875), followed by the Library of the Three Hierarchs in 1907, the Benaki Library in 1924, and in 1926 the Gennadius Library (well known for its archival material), and the Library of the Technical Chamber of Greece. The Aristotelian Library of Thessaloniki was founded in 1927 as part of the University of Thessaloniki, Greece's second university at that time. Later, in the 1940s, international libraries were founded: for example, the American Library of the U.S. Information Service in 1945, and the British Council Library in 1946 in Athens followed by a branch in Thessaloniki in 1960.

The Voluntary and Private Sector

The voluntary and private sectors rose to dominate and catalyze adult education efforts during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. By the mid-nineteenth century cultural and educational societies (syllogoi) were active in attempting to "re-Hellenize" the Greek population still under Ottoman rule. Although some efforts were successful, they were hampered by the use of the Katherevousa (see footnote 7) language (Clogg, 1979, p.77). Efforts were also directed to Greeks in "free" Greece. According to the findings of Vasilakis (1962, 1981) the Society of the Friends of Education, founded in 1836, was the first notable effort in this regard.

The mid-nineteenth century also witnessed the founding of the famed Parnassus Literary Society in 1865 with the aim to raise the people's standard of culture and civilization. Those familiar with ancient history may recall that Delphi, built on the slopes of Mount Parnassus, was the spiritual and religious center of ancient Greece. In addition to the establishment of a library, the organization of concerts, art exhibitions, as well as competitions in poetry and literature, the society sponsored a variety of public lectures to help the Greek people become cognizant as to the progress made in the entire world. In addition, evening schools were established for poor youth who had to work during the day. Also established in 1865 was the Society of the Friends of the People dedicated to giving the working class a grounding in the sciences. In addition to housing a library, the Society sponsored courses, films, and ran a publishing company. During 1869 the Society for the Promotion of Greek Education also appeared on the scene.

The year 1871 witnessed the founding of the Women's Cultural Association. Essentially dedicated to the education of Greek working women, the society established the Poor Women's Workshop to develop home industries in sewing, dressmaking, etc. Primary education and cultural activities were also organized, and the Technical Teachers' Training College for Women was established. It was not until 1910 that another effort specifically for women was founded – The Greek Womens' Cultural Institution. As the name implies, it was designed to raise the cultural level of women. Lectures followed by discussions, as well as cultural excursions, abounded in addition to exhibitions, concerts, and literary gatherings, a lending library and reading rooms. Evening classes for illiterate mothers were also organized.

The year 1870 also marked the founding of the Greek Labor and Socialist Movement (although the General Confederation of Workers was not organized until 1918). By the end of the century the Athens Olympic Games were resurrected during 1896 with the first modern marathon. Also in 1899, the Association for Dissemination of Useful Books was established to publish and distribute popular educational works, as well as a series for more educated sections of the population, including lectures for women of "leisured class".

During the nineteenth century learned societies, especially those devoted to archaeology, also took root. The Archaeological

Association of Greece was founded in 1837. The Greek archaeological interest was also influenced by archaeological schools established in Greece by other countries. The establishment of the French School in 1846 was followed, according to Dakin (1972), by schools set up by the Germans in 1847, the Austrians in 1897, and the Italians in 1909.

Advancing archaeology into the public domain for general consumption and education, public support was given to the founding of the National Archaeological Museum in 1874. Although a provincial museum of archaeology had been founded in Rhodes around 1440, other provincial museums of archaeology did not seem to emerge until after the turn of the twentieth century: at Delphi in 1903, at Corinth later in 1932, and at Heraklion, Crete not until 1931.

During the nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of museums were founded, some with public and some with private support. In Athens the Zoological Laboratory and Museum was founded in 1858 and the Acropolis Museum during 1878, the National Picture Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum in 1900, and by 1914 the Byzantine Museum was established. It was not until 1930 that the Benaki Museum was founded, housing historical and photographic archival departments as well as a library, and not until 1951 that the Stoa of Attalos Museum, housing material from the Agora, was established. The presence and variety of the museums as an educational medium in modern Greek society seems to warrant inquiry for the interested researcher, particularly since museums have been considered an important educational structure since early times.

In general, then, the nineteenth century seems to have been dominated by a number of streams: (a) the establishment of libraries, (b) efforts to raise the social, cultural, and intellectual knowledge of the mass populace, and (c) founding of learned societies and special interest groups such as the archaeological interest.

Despite the liberation of a part of Greece from Turkish control, these years were neither peaceful nor trouble-free. Internal instability in politics, external wars raging all around, and the burden of compatriots in other regions (e.g. Crete, Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, etc.) still under Ottoman rule, closed the century on a turbulent note.

The Twentieth Century

From 1900 to 1920

The turn of the century witnessed the founding of a number of professional associations which provided a means of both networking and further growth and development for their members. Among these were: Hellenic Music Association and the Journalists Union of the Athens Daily Newspaper, both in 1914; The Hellenic Geographical Society in 1919; and the Association of Greek Chemists in 1924. A number of learned societies and research centers also emerged. Among these were: the Center for the Compilation of the Historical Dictionary of the Greek Language, founded in 1914; the Research Center for Greek Folklore in 1918; the Society for Byzantine and Greek Studies in 1919; and the Center for Research in the History of Greek Law in 1929. All are still in existence today; some have libraries of which adult learners may avail themselves.

The early 1900s also marked the first modern farmer's cooperative in Almyros. The development and growth of cooperatives at the turn of the century, in fact, led to the enactment, in 1915, of comprehensive legislation on cooperatives – known as Law 602 – laying down principles and guidelines for cooperative ventures. Cooperatives perform a critically important educative function for their members [this will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4].

Also in the agricultural domain, during 1904 the Thessaloniki Agricultural and Industrial Institute was founded as a non-profit private institution. Affectionately called the "American Farm School", it was founded by the American Missionary Dr. John Henry House and is financed by the school farm, private contributions from the United States, and the Greek and U.S. Governments. Its mission is to train youth as well as adult farmers on a selective basis (Pierce, 1979). [A fuller discussion is offered in Chapters 4 and 5.]

The General Confederation of Greek Workers (GSEE) was organized in 1918, although the founding of the Greek labor movement and trade unions date to 1870 (Bitzes, 1976). The Center for Documentation and Training of GSEE (KEMETE) did not develop until 1982, and it was 1984 when a School for Worker Education was established in Piraeus. Nevertheless, the 1918 founding of the Confederation served to unite the workers and acted as a networking mechanism enlightening and educating its members, even if informally.

The 1920s

As noted in the historical sketch earlier, the year 1922 witnessed a mass exodus of Greeks from Asia Minor, as part of an exchange of populations agreed to between Turkey and Greece. As a direct result of the exodus, the YWCA (XEN) came to Greece in 1922 (*The Greek Y: Its Founding and Aims*, n.d.). With centers established throughout Greece, XEN offered and continues to offer a variety of learning activities for adults [as discussed further in Chapter 4]. The YMCA (XAN) was also founded around this period.

The National Theater of Greece also appeared on the cultural-educational scene during this period. Although during the Byzantine years and the Turkish occupation the Greek theater had receded from prominence, around the 1930s drama again became an important part of cultural life. By 1924 a Drama School of the National Theater was founded in Athens. It was designed primarily for actors and actresses who wanted to improve themselves, but also for young people aspiring to that profession. From the information available, it seems that this school was the first devoted exclusively to drama and adult continuing learners — i.e. those already established in the profession. Earlier schools were primarily preparatory in nature and divided into sections of drama, music, art, etc. Examples included the Odeion of Athens founded in 1871 and then even later the Odeion of the Nation, founded in 1924. A State Conservatory of Music had also been established in 1915, but again it was more preparatory in nature.

Efforts to improve the cultural and educational level of the Greek nation continued throughout the 1920s. In 1925 the Macedonian Educational Society was founded to improve the educational system, as well as the level of culture, in that area. Also included among its activities were evening classes and a traveling cinema. It will be recalled that Macedonia (birthplace of King Philip and Alexander the Great) was not freed from Turkish occupation and rule until after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) when it again became part of Greece. Moreover, due to its geographical proximity to Asia Minor it received some of the emigrants of the mass exodus mentioned above. On the academic front, the second university in modern Greece, the University of Thessaloniki, was founded around 1926. Thessaloniki is also located in northern Greece in the area of Macedonia.

Also in 1926 the Academy of Athens was founded as a highly selective research and literary organization. With the purpose of reviving the ancient Greek idea of gymnasia, the Greek Society for Gymnastics and Education was founded during 1927. Public gymnasia were opened where the theory as well as the practice of physical training could be studied and experienced. By 1933 a people's high school was founded by the Society to raise the cultural level of the people.

Later in the decade, during 1929, the first official governmental input for adult education — in the form of legislation — was enacted. Nomos (law) 4397 of 1929 introduced courses in agriculture, commerce, handicrafts, and domestic sciences for adults, and established night schools for illiterates. Specifically, Article 12 of the Law stipulated that "classes will be established wherever a group of at least five (5) illiterates of school age can be formed".

The 1930s

The 1930s continued the development of a disparate array of learned societies, specialized groups, and agents. For example, during 1930 the Benaki Phyto-Pathological Institute was founded, as well as the Center for Research in Medieval and Modern Hellenism to 1821 (a Center dealing with post-1821 was not founded until 1957). During 1931 a professional network for composers developed with the League of Greek Composers. Other learned societies which appeared during the decade included the Society of the Greek Men of Letters in 1934, the Association of Arts and Letters in 1938, and the Hellenic Institute of International and Foreign Law in 1939.

During the mid-1930s efforts also continued with regard to raising the educational and cultural level of the masses. The Christian Social Union in 1932 set up People's University and in 1933 a People's High School was founded by the Greek Society for Gymnastics, as noted earlier. In 1937 the School of Professional (Vocational) Tourism of the Greek National Tourist Organization was established. Two sections were organized: (a) for individuals already working in hotels and restaurants and, (b) for those interested in becoming established in hotel and restaurant work. The wars of the 1940 decade, however, interrupted the effort and activities were not resumed until 1951 (*Scholē Touristikōn Epaggelmatōn*, n.d.).

The 1940s

The 1940s as we have already seen were difficult years. When most countries were recovering from World War II, Greece was immediately plunged into a civil war which was not resolved until the end of the decade. Only a short respite appeared between 1945, when England helped quell disturbances, and 1946 when the more extensive civil war erupted.

Learning pursuits, however, continued with the establishment of a variety of organizations with an educative function. For example, the Hellenic Hydro-biological Institute (now called Institute of Oceanographic and Fisheries Research) was founded in 1945, as was the Graeco-American Cultural Institute. The aims of the latter organization, founded by the Graeco-American Youth Movement, apparently coincided with America's Assistance to Greece at that time, followed by the Truman Doctrine. The aims of the Institute were to promote a better understanding in each country of the other's culture. In 1946 the Athens Cultural Association was founded. Recognizing parents as important educators of children, its aims were especially, although not exclusively, geared to the education of parents, and promoted an understanding of art, literature, and the teaching problems faced by parents. Also during 1946 rural youth extension efforts were established. Earlier in the decade, the Athens City Ballet established a School for Amateurs in 1941, although a school for professionals was not established until 1951.

The year 1943 marked a significant advance in governmental support for adult education. For the first time a special Office (Directorate) for Adult (Popular) Education was established in the Ministry of Education as a result of Law 837. Basically, the Office was charged with the responsibility of publishing educational books, periodicals, and other publications, as well as organizing educational lectures and radio broadcasts. After 1945 similar services were established in other Ministries (e.g. Ministry of Agriculture, and others). Because of the ravages of war, however, further efforts were apparently retarded during this period. More specifically, the Directorate of Adult Education was demoted to a Section in 1946 and not reinstated as a Directorate until the 1976–77 reforms.

From 1950 to 1974

By 1951, however, when Greece had begun reconstruction efforts, the Office of Adult (Popular) Education reappeared on front stage. Eleni Malefeka, who was instrumental in establishing the Office in the first place during 1943, became Director in 1951 and remained in the post until 1964. She was ultimately succeeded by Petros Kehayiopoulos who remained in that position until 1982.

The major accomplishment during the first three years (1951–1953) was the work which the Office put forth in articulating provisions for a law of literacy which later became enacted as Law 3094 of 1954 (Koletta, 1980).

From 1954 to 1961 (especially 1954–1958) primary efforts were directed at combatting illiteracy and the establishment of Night Primary Schools throughout the country. For those from 14–20 years old attendance was compulsory while it was voluntary for those over 20 years old. The program was similar to those of the day school but more flexible and led to the award of an equivalency diploma. Secondary education was also available at night, but came under the jurisdiction of the Secondary Education and Vocational Education Departments.

Additionally, the 1954 legislation provided, on paper, not only for the Night Primary Schools, but also for Centers of Adult Education (initially named Centers of Instruction) intended for the general enlightenment of people over 20 years old. Essentially, such centers were founded with the idea of raising the intellectual level and quality of life for all Greek people of post-school age; this effort included but was not limited to combatting illiteracy. Operationally, however, they were not established until 1958, with some input from OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) and the EEC (European Economic Community).

The Centers were modified during the 1976–77 and 1980 educational reforms and again in 1982 and 1985, [as discussed later]. They constitute the national adult education network system throughout Greece.

The 1954 decree also established a Central Committee for Combatting Illiteracy (KEKA) with the following provisions (Kōleta, 1980, pp. 124–125):

The Committee was composed of: the Minister of Education as Chair and the Archbishop of Athens and All Greece as Honorary Chair; one Metropolitan appointed by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece with his alternate; the General Secretary of the Ministry of Education who substituted for the Minister when necessary; a representative from the Academy of Athens, appointed by the Senate, and his substitute; an educational advisor and an Inspector of Elementary Education from the Ministry of Education, and their alternates; representatives from a number of other Ministries such as Justice, Interior, Economy, Agriculture, Labor, Community Health, etc., and their alternates; a representative of the daily newspapers of Athens, appointed by the Union of Journalists, and a substitute; the Director of Elementary Education from the Ministry of Education; and the Chief of the Department of Adult Education of the Ministry of Education.

The work of KEKA was as follows:

1. To look after and combat illiteracy in all of Greece. Specifically:

    a. To supervise and to coordinate the efforts of the services and organizations which are engaged in the education of the population.

    b. To guide NEKA regional committees [discussed below].

    c. To organize the annual program of work and to attend to its implementation.

    d. To apportion among the district committees state assistance for the care of students, and for the strengthening of the Night Primary Schools.

e. To bestow moral rewards on physicans and legal personnel for exceptional activity in the struggle against illiteracy.

In addition to the Central Committee (KEKA), Regional Committees (NEKA) were established in each of the 51 prefectures (districts) of Greece, composed of the following representatives: the Metropolitan of the District as Honorary President; the Governor of the Prefecture as President; Judge from the District Attorney's Office of the Prefecture; a representative of the Local Authority, of the Commander of gendarmery/constabulary, of the Inspector of Labor, and of Rural Security; Director of the Prefecture; Inspector of Elementary Education of the Prefecture; representative of the Inspector of Economy; Director of the Center of Social Welfare in the Prefecture; and a representative of the local press. In addition, other representatives could be invited in a consultative or advisory capacity.

The NEKA committees had responsibility to: organize in their district the struggle against illiteracy, and upon the approval of KEKA (the Central Committee) to establish and supervise night schools, Adult Education Centers, and to pay their expenditures. They had authority to approve sub-committees, give awards, and devise other incentives which would help enlarge the campaign against and help combat illiteracy. In general, the NEKAs were self-sufficient, independent, and decentralized entities.

Thus KEKA (Central Committee) acted as the main supervisory, coordinating, and regulatory body for both the Night Primary Schools and the emerging Centers for Adult Education while the NEKAs (District or Regional Committees) acted as operational bodies, responsible for practical implementation of the literacy campaign in the district and for the establishment, operation, and supervision of Night Primary Schools and Adult Education Centers (initially called Centers of Instruction). As the network of Adult Education Centers continued to grow and expand as well as diversify their function, the Regional and Central Committee became involved in the coordination of entities which were engaged in far more than the struggle against illiteracy.

It was for that reason that with Royal Decree 442/1965 KEKA (Central Committee for Combatting Illiteracy) was amalgamated with the Council of Adult Education provided by the Law 837/1943 and the name changed to KELE (Central Committee for Popular/Adult Education). Accordingly, the name of NEKA was changed to NELE (District Committee for Popular/Adult Education). Ministerial Order 95293 of September

10, 1967 – public decision of the Vice President of the Government and of the Ministries of Education and Finance – modified the composition of NELE to include a wider representation.

In 1968 the Central Committee (KELE), by Act Number 32 of September 5, 1968, voted to change the name and function of the Centers from Centers of Instruction to Centers of Adult Education. No longer did they have as a sole aim the struggle against illiteracy nor were they intended exclusively for the illiterates and semi-literates; they came to be considered as educational centers for all the population of the country regardless of the educational level (Kōletta, 1980, pp. 138–139). New regulations for the functioning of Adult Education Centers were set forth by the 33/11.10.73 Act of the Central Committee of Adult Education (KELE). Examination of the Regulation reveals that Article 2, regarding the program of the Adult Education Centers, reflects the expanded scope of the Centers. Interestingly, however, although Adult Education functioned as an independent section of the Ministry of Education until 1969, from 1969 until 1976 it was joined with the Division of Primary Education (Kōletta, 1980, pp. 119).

Law 79 of 1973 provided additional stipulations regarding registration and attendance at the Night Primary Schools and examinations, which modified earlier decrees. Those who had reached the age of 20 years and chose not to study at the Night Primary Schools could take an examination to acquire an equivalency diploma. The examinations were held three times a year (September, February, and June). They were first enforced in September of 1973. According to the records: of the 448 adults who took the examination, 442 passed; in February, 1974, of the 1,056 who took the exams, 982 passed. According to Kehayiopoulos, most were not illiterate, but had completed five or six grades of school and needed a certificate as evidence of their literacy – thus accounting for the high percentage of individuals passing the examination.

It seems plausible to the author that a decision to create such examinations in the first place may have reflected the deeper belief of the Greek culture and tradition in self-education and self-learning, which is currently receiving focused attention in Greek adult education efforts, as discussed later.

Eliou (1978), however, suggests that the "impression one gains is that the object was – and remains – to reduce the percentage of illiterates in the international statistical tables, by suitable handling, for reasons of national pride, and not that the unfettered should learn to read and write" (pp. 61–62). To support her position, Eliou cites the following statistics: in 1974–75 only 10 class certificates were granted, but 2,268 out of 2,377 adults qualified for certificates via examination only. She also cites research done by the Center for Social Sciences: during an interview with a "secretary of one regional committee for popular education (NELE)" the interviewee "replied that in 1954 the percentage of illiteracy had been reduced artifically. "And quite rightly," remarks "because it was a disgrace for us to have such a high percentage" (p. 62). We do not know, however, what the question was that prompted the reply.

Given that the statement itself is valid, it is difficult to determine, based on the information presented and available to or gathered by the author of this book, whether it warrants the claim that "since the passing of Law 3094 of 1954...no real action with appropriate measures and means has actually been taken" (Eliou, 1978, p. 61) or that the "idee fixe of influencing the statistics can also be seen behind Law 79 of 1973".

The year 1974 marked the end of the military dictatorship and Colonel Papadopoulos's regime, after which (during 1976–77) major reforms materialized in the whole education system. These reforms, among other things, broadened the function of KELE and modified the composition of the board.

The 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s, therefore, witnessed the establishment of a nationwide campaign to combat illiteracy, as well as the development of a nationwide network of Adult Education Centers, and the establishment of national and regional committees to guide action. The discussion would be incomplete, however, without a review of the input received by Greece from UNESCO, as well as UNESCO and OECD consultants.

During the 1960s, with the aid of UNESCO, a popular education series of books and pamphlets was developed and distributed throughout the country via mobile libraries. Often serving as texts for literacy efforts, topics were of functional use to the people (e.g. health education) or dealt with realistic themes of their lives. Book depots at each of the Centers were also established as libraries replete with borrowing privileges.

The following adult education consultants from other countries helped guide progress during these years. The late Herbert Grau, from Austria, spent a number of months (October 1964 to May 1965) in Greece as a UNESCO consultant. Posthumously, a publication based on his ideas of the teaching–learning team and other facets was published by the Office of Adult Education in 1977 (Grau, 1977). Pierre Fourre spent four years in Greece during the early to mid 1960s as part of OECD's contribution to the development of the network of Adult Education Centers. Among other things, he produced a publication dedicated to present and future adult education "teachers" in Greece. Discussed more fully in Chapter 6 on Education and Training, it gave particular input on techniques and methods (Fourre, 1967). An interesting observation is that both these individuals were consultants to Greece before the military dictatorship took power from 1967–1974. They were also in the country during the reign of the Center Union government of George Papandreou and attempted reform during that period. Edwin Townsend-Coles, on the other hand, did not arrive in Greece as a UNESCO consultant until January 1972. As he put it:

> My main concern was to keep AE [Adult Education] alive without letting it sell its soul to the dictators. We had to keep the village groups going, but at the same time it would not have been in the best long-term interests of the people to have allowed it to be purely a vehicle for propaganda. In keeping the record clean, Peter [Petros Kehayiopoulos, then National Director of Adult Education] showed consummate skill. (Townsend-Coles, 17 July, 1981, personal communication).

As part of the UNESCO sponsored project, four fellows (Greek natives) were selected from forty applicants to visit other countries to glean experience on current trends. The four who were selected included: G. Alpentozos, who visited the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, U.K.; L. Costopoulos, who visited Leicestershire Local Education Authority, England, and also engaged in a study tour to Denmark; C. Vlahos, who visited the Sorbonne in Paris, France and also undertook study tour in Switzerland; and F. Yannopoulos, who visited West Germany (Göhrde Heimvolkschochschule) (Townsend-Coles, 1973). Over the entire duration of UNESCO involvement others also were awarded grants to travel abroad for visits to adult education activities, programs, and conferences.

In light of the fact that Townsend-Coles' presence in Greece was to "advise the government on the preparation and implementation of a five-year plan for the development of adult education" (Townsend-Coles, 1973, p.5) some of the recommendations which resulted from the project can be directly observed as part of the 1976–77 reforms. Examples include raising the status of the Office of Adult Education to Directorate, (which had been requested by the Office since 1951), the development of management/advisory committees of local citizens for the Adult Education Centers, reconstitution of NELE, including NELEs power to carry out programs of its own in the districts, expansion of the program breadth of the Centers, and the university's role in the

Center (university professors teach for the Centers).

Other recommendations, however, seem never to have been adopted: for example, a stronger role of the universities particularly in offering at least one course on adult education theory and practice and/or of engaging in continuing education of adult education personnel, establishment of an Inspectorate of Adult Education, and the responsibility of each NELE to draw up development programs for adult education, although progress is being made toward the latter.

Other suggestions of Townsend-Coles such as the development of a more participatory approach in the teaching-learning transaction and increase in the size of NELE have been implemented since 1982. Also most recently the transfer of the administration and coordination of adult/popular education from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Culture is consistent with the observation of the Townsend-Coles report on the close connection between the work of the two Ministries and of the "need to be planning the two together, as one operation" (Townsend-Coles, 1973, p. 11).

Involvement of the Ministry of Education in adult education endeavors has dominated our discussion of the 1950s and 1960s as well as the early 1970s. Before moving on to the dissolution of the military dictatorship during 1974 and the subsequent educational reforms, it would seem helpful to once again traverse the decade of the 1950s and 1960s to explore and sort out other threads of the adult education tapestry during those periods.

The theme of the 1950s particularly was one of reconstruction. Activities which had been interrupted during the wars of the 1940s were resumed. Also, a myriad of new thrusts appeared. Given the emphasis on economic development, it is not surprising that during the middecade ELKEPA (the Greek Productivity Center) was founded as a non-profit scientific organization under governmental auspices, dedicated to raising the level of productivity in Greece. Adult education formed an integral part of this process. [A full discussion of the Center and its activities is offered in Chapter 4.]

In addition to Ministry of Education involvement, as already discussed, other Ministeries started becoming actively involved in adult education pursuits. Although agricultural education has a long-standing tradition in Greece, it was during the 1950s that legislation was enacted to make the Ministry of Agriculture responsible for the education of farmers. The Ministry of Labor and its Manpower Development Center (OAED) was also taking root. Since so much of Ministerial involvement in adult education evolved and progressed from the 1950s to the present it would seem most appropriate merely to make that point here. [A fuller treatment, as well as chronology, of input from various Ministerial branches is offered in Chapter 4.]

During the 1950s and 1960s the founding of research centers and learned societies also continued. For example, the Goethe Institute was founded in 1952, the Institute for Balkan Studies in 1953, the Eugenides Technical Library in 1956, the Center for Research in Contemporary Hellenism (since 1821) in 1957 (a center for the study before 1821 had been founded in 1930), and in 1959 the Research Center for Astronomy and Applied Mathematics and the International Center for Classical Research. This latter Center devotes much energy to popular education through conferences and publications. In 1958 the National Hellenic Research Foundation was established, subsidizing not only its own research projects, but also those in universities and other research centers. It was the National Center of Social Research (EKKE), however, established in 1960, which has been involved — even if only to a limited extent — with matters contiguous to adult education, [as discussed in Chapter 6 on Education and Research]. Other research centers established during the 1960s included: in 1961 the Center for Planning and Economic Research, [examined in both Chapter 3 and 4], and the Democritus Nuclear Research Center (the Greek Atomic Energy Commission had been established in 1954); in 1966 the Center for Research in Greek Philosophy; and in 1968 the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies. In the same year the Greek Library Association was founded.

With regard to professional associations, the Association of Greek Psychologists was formed in 1963. The Greek Mathematic Society which is very active in sponsoring summer schools, lectures, and publications, however, was not organized until 1981.

The relevance of professional associations to the continuing learning of its members is self-evident. However, with regard to the sampling of research centers discussed throughout the chapter, one should note that some publish periodicals and others sponsor public lectures. Most, however, have libraries available to the inquisitive, independent adult learner, usually by making an appointment in advance.

With regard to the formal education system, the University of Patras was established in 1964 and during the same year a new section of the University of Thessaloniki was formed in Ioannina, but by 1970 it had achieved independent status and became the University of Ioannina. It was not until 1973 that the University of Thrace and the University of Crete were founded. More important to continuous learning prospects, however, was the establishment in 1965 of the Cooperative College of Thessaloniki. As the name implies, it was established to offer short as well as long-term training and education to those working with the establishment and operation of cooperatives in Greece. [Since the structure and function has changed over the years, a fuller treatment is reserved for Chapter 4.] Just prior to this advance, as a result of the 1959 legislation, a College for the Training of Vocational and Technical Teachers had been authorized, as mentioned previously.

During these years private initiatives aimed at cultural education were also visible. Their character, however, was different from earlier efforts at the turn of the century, aimed at healing the nation. These efforts included a plethora of language training institutes offering learning activities in a variety of languages, as well as centers of culture offering activities to Greek citizens throughout the year as well as (mostly in the summer months) activities for those from other countries. A good example is the Athens Center for the Creative Arts. Founded in 1969 as a Greek non-profit organization, it offers continuing education to Greeks throughout the year in modern language, fine arts, and performing arts. Summer sessions to those from other countries include language, history, and literature of Greece. Despite their private nature they still cooperate with the Ministry of Culture. Another excellent example, founded in 1977, is the Ionic Center, with locations both in Athens and on the island of Chios (legendary birthplace of Homer). As an independent non-profit educational organization, it is governed by a General Assembly of Trustees and by a Board of Directors. Dedicated to a "community of cooperating mankind," the Center is the first of its kind in Greece [it will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 4, along with the Athens Center].

From 1975 to 1981

By 1977, then, after the critical educational reform of 1976-77 with which we shall deal next, Greece appeared again to be developing a self-image as a learning center not only for Greeks but for others as well. It was about this time, or shortly thereafter, that Professor Markantonis put forth his proposal for the establishment in Greece of a Center of Lifelong Education for the enlarged European Community. Although this idea apparently did not materialize, in an unrelated area the European Economic Community did recognize the Center of International and European Law in Thessaloniki, founded in 1977, as the European Documentation Center.

It is not unusual, however, for Greece to extend educational efforts and responsibility outside the country. In fact, Article 108 of the 1975 Constitution stipulates that:

> The State shall be concerned with Greeks residing abroad and with the maintenance of their ties to the Fatherland. The State shall also attend to the education and social and professional advancement of Greeks working outside the State.

Perhaps it is a natural extension to extend learning to others as well. How much of this momentum can be traced to its earlier history is mere speculation that may offer a potential line of inquiry for interested researchers and scholars.

The Educational Reforms of 1976–1977. Since the educational reforms of 1976–77 are considered the most extensive reforms in Greek society up until that date, it may be helpful to briefly review these changes to better understand the societal environment and climate into which adult education efforts were evolving. Moreover, revisions in standing regulations and policy structure of adult education from 1976 to 1980 seem to have been influenced by the momentum.

First, however, it is important to secure a grasp of the legislative history leading up to these reforms. During the late 1950s attempts at reconstruction also pertained to the recognized need for significant reforms in educational legislation and policies. The enactment, in 1959, of Law 3971 led to the introduction of vocational education into the public schools for the first time in Greece. Relevant to adult education matters, the establishment of a College for the Training of Technical and Vocational Teachers was significant. [A more detailed look at vocational education is presented in Chapter 4 in discussing the formal educational system.]

Additional reforms, guided by a prominent Greek educator, Papanoutsos, were drawn up by the Center Union Party; implementation started when the party came to power in 1964 (under the leadership of George Papandreou). Among other things, the reforms extended compulsory schooling from six to nine years and instituted Demotike (see footnote 7) as the language of instruction. More relevant to the present discussion was a proposal to enlarge post-secondary vocational education. When the party ceased to govern in 1965, and particularly when the military dictatorship took force (1967 to 1974), the reforms dissipated. Many elements, however, eventually were resurrected in the 1976–77 reforms. The notion of enlarging post-secondary vocational education, however, must have been retained since Legislative Decree 652 of 1970 authorized the establishment of Centers for Higher Technical and Vocational Education, although they did not begin operating until 1973.

Basically, the reforms are embodied in three laws: (a) Law 186 of 1975 on the formation of the Center for Educational Research and Planning and In-Service Education of Teachers (KEME); (b) Law 309 of 1976 on General Education, and (c) Law 576 of 1977 on Secondary and Higher Vocational Technical Education.

Very briefly, the general education provisions extended compulsory schooling from six to nine years and replaced Katherevousa with Demotike as the official language. One can clearly see the reinstatement of the 1964 initiative. The vocational advances sought to close the gap between education and the labor market, and the establishment of KEME recognized the need for better preparation as well as continuing education of teachers. Emanating from this momentum, Presidential Decree 147 of 1976 was directed to the adult education system of the Ministry of Education. The Office of Adult Education was again elevated to a Directorate, a recommendation Townsend-Coles had made during the early 1970s while serving as a UNESCO consultant to Greece. Inspection of the 1976 decree, along with decrees 37 of 1977 and 39 of 1979, and the final form of Standing Regulations for Adult Education as published in *Government Gazette*, issue number 1316 of December 31, 1980, clearly indicated the influence of the UNESCO lifelong education guidelines.

According to Kehayiopoulos (1980, 1981), then National Director of Adult Education, Greece was the first country to embrace the principles of lifelong education as set forth at UNESCO's Nairobi Conference during November, 1976, and frame national policy along those lines. Markantonis (n.d., c. 1977-1981 p. 3), Professor of the University of Athens, School of Philosophy, Laboratory of Experimental Pedagogics, also referred to the "fact that Greece was the first country to remodel its adult education system in accordance with the resolutions adopted at the UNESCO General Assembly in Nairobi in 1976".

Interestingly, the UNESCO Assembly occurred several years after the end of the military dictatorship in Greece, at a time when the country was in the midst of drawing up the reforms of 1976-77; the timing seemed quite favorable. As noted, the Office of Adult Education was upgraded to a Directorate. This was organized with three sections: (a) Research and Programs, which among other duties communicated and collaborated with adult education agencies abroad, while also attending to the training of adult educators in the country, (b) Education Publications and Teaching Aids, and (c) Administration.

The basic advisory structure still consisted of the Central Committee of Adult Education (KELE) on the national level and the Regional Committees of Adult Education (NELE) on the district level. On the local level a Managing Committee of local citizens was added to work with the Director and staff of each Center for Adult Education.

As depicted in Figure 1, (p. 45), Organizational Plan of Adult Education in Greece as coordinated by the Ministry of Education (until) 1981, the number of Adult Education Centers per district could range from three to fifteen, depending upon the size of the district and its population. Urban, semi-urban, and rural areas were covered. Each district employed a district Director of Adult Education who functioned in an intermediary role between the Regional Committee (NELE) and the Centers.

From 1981 to the Present

While the 1976-1980 reforms in adult education indicated that the theoretical and philosophical structure of adult education was based on classical Greek ideals, the traditions of the country, and the recommendations of the UNESCO General Assembly of November 26, 1976 in Nairobi, (Ministry of National Education and Religion, Directorate of Adult Education, 1978), during 1982 under the new administration of PASOK, standing regulations and policy framework for adult education were again modified. The main changes included (Papandreou, G., August, 1983 personal communication):

1. A philosophical foundation of participatory involvement of citizens.

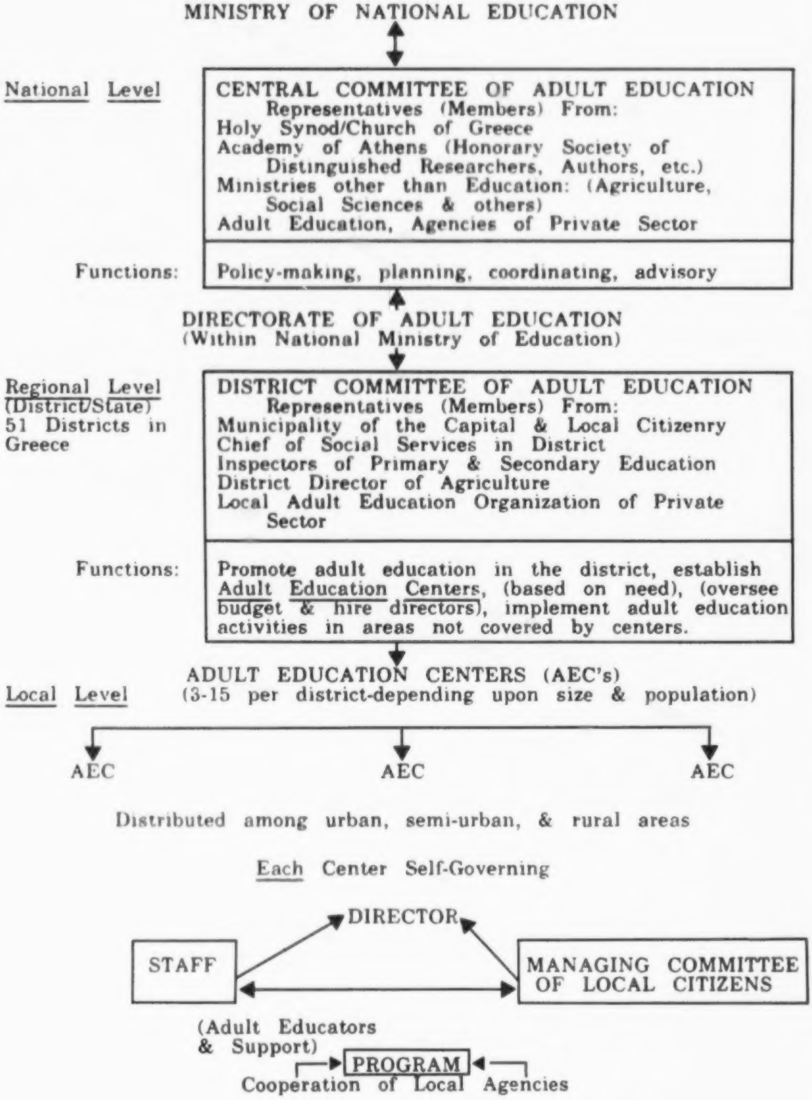
2. Creation of a Secretariat within the Ministry of Education responsible for coordinating all adult and vocational education programs in Greece.

3. Enlargement of regional committees (NELE's) both with respect to membership and powers.

4. Introduction of five people in each region called popular education counselors, competitively selected (7,000 applicants for 250 positions) some of whom had lived abroad and studied or worked in the field of adult education.

The above changes in the statutes of adult education represent the collective work of a movement which apparently preceded PASOK's 1981 victory. During the latter 1970s a number of voluntary groups were self-organized to study the social problems in Greece. Their concerns revolved around building bridges between scientist and non-scientist, between intellectual and laborer. Active participation, critical analysis, and a collective spirit

Figure 1 - Overview of Organizational Plan for Adult Education in Greece, Coordinated by the Ministry of National Education, 1981



MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

National Level

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF ADULT EDUCATION
Representatives (Members) From:
Holy Synod/Church of Greece
Academy of Athens (Honorary Society of Distinguished Researchers, Authors, etc.)
Ministries other than Education: (Agriculture, Social Sciences & others)
Adult Education, Agencies of Private Sector

Functions: Policy-making, planning, coordinating, advisory

DIRECTORATE OF ADULT EDUCATION
(Within National Ministry of Education)

Regional Level (District/State)
51 Districts in Greece

DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF ADULT EDUCATION
Representatives (Members) From:
Municipality of the Capital & Local Citizenry
Chief of Social Services in District
Inspectors of Primary & Secondary Education
District Director of Agriculture
Local Adult Education Organization of Private Sector

Functions: Promote adult education in the district, establish Adult Education Centers, (based on need), (oversee budget & hire directors), implement adult education activities in areas not covered by centers.

ADULT EDUCATION CENTERS (AEC's)
Local Level (3-15 per district-depending upon size & population)

AEC AEC AEC

Distributed among urban, semi-urban, & rural areas

Each Center Self-Governing

DIRECTOR

STAFF

MANAGING COMMITTEE OF LOCAL CITIZENS

(Adult Educators & Support)

PROGRAM

Cooperation of Local Agencies

were emphasized. These explorations led to a series of seminars and conferences. Formation of the Center for Studies and Self-Education (KEMEA – not to be confused with KEME) which has handled some of the training activities for adult educators [as discussed in Chapter 6] can evidently be directly traced to the activity of these early groups.

Again, in August 1985 modifications took place when the coordination and supervision of governmental adult education activities were removed from the Ministry of Education and transfered to the Ministry of Culture.

All these changes should be better understood in light of the current political, economic, and social context which is the focal point of the next chapter. Just for the moment, however, before progressing to Chapter 3, it seems instructive to equip oneself with the under-girding provided for educational endeavors by the Greek Constitution of 1975. It seems significant and perhaps in concert with Greek history that education, arts, science, and athletics are all considered as one category under Article 16 of the constitution. As chronicled in this chapter and the previous one, culture and arts, physical training and athletics have been conjointly treated as integral parts of education for life since antiquity.

All nine points are reproduced below (*Constitution of Greece*, 1975, pp. 15–17).

1. Art and science, research and teaching shall be free and their development and promotion shall be an obligation of the State. Academic freedom and freedom of teaching shall not exempt anyone from his duty of allegiance to the Constitution.

2. Education constitutes a basic mission for the State and shall aim at the moral, intellectual, professional and physical training of Greeks, the development of national and religious conscience, and at the formation of free and responsible citizens.

3. The number of years of compulsory education shall not be less than nine.

4. All Greeks are entitled to free education on all levels in State educational institutions. The State shall provide financial assistance to those who distinguish themselves, as well as to students in need of assistance or special protection, in accordance with their abilities.

5. Education at university level shall be provided exclusively by institutions which are fully self-governed public corporate bodies. These institutions shall operate under the supervision of the State and are entitled to financial assistance thereof; they shall operate on the basis of their statutory laws. Merging or splitting up of university level institutions may take place notwithstanding any contrary provisions, as a law shall provide. A special law shall define all matters pertaining to student associations and the participation of students therein.

6. Professors of university level institutions shall be public functionaries. The remaining teaching personnel likewise perform a public function, under the conditions specified by law. The statutes of the respective institutions shall define matters relating to the status of all the above. Professors of university level institutions shall not be dismissed prior to the lawful termination of their term of service, except in the cases of the substantial provisions under article 88 paragraph 4 and following a decision by a council in its majority of highest judicial functionaries, as specified by law. The retirement age of professors of university level institutions shall be defined by law; until such law is issued professors in active service shall retire ipso jure at the end of the academic year in which they have reached the age of sixty-seven.

7. Professional and any other form of special education shall be provided by the State, through schools of a higher level and for a time period not exceeding three years, as specifically provided by law which also defines the professional rights of graduates of such schools.

8. The conditions and terms for granting a license for the establishment and operation of schools not owned by the State, the supervision of such and the professional status of teaching personnel therein shall be specified by law. The establishment of university level institutions by private persons is prohibited.

9. Athletics shall be under the protection and the ultimate supervision of the State. The State shall make grants to and shall control all types of athletic associations, as specified by law. The use of grants in accordance with the purpose of the associations receiving them shall also be specified by law.

69

Recapitulation

Before proceeding to Part II, a brief recapitulation seems in order. Many of the institutional bases, as well as forms, patterns and values, of adult education throughout Greek history – especially those initiated during the nineteenth and twentieth century – are still a significant part of the adult education matrix today.

Prior to the War of Independence adult education appeared to play a significant role in awakening people to their oppression and educating them for revolt and liberation. After the war, the education of adults – particularly in a non-formal manner via non-governmental means – was aimed at healing and unification. The leverage of both efforts was the awakening or reawakening of a nationalist identity in the Greek people that transcended present time and space – a thrust that reconnected them with the "glorious ancestors". This return to the past seems to have been used (consciously or unconsciously) as a social action type tool throughout Greek history during periods in which the educational level of the people waned. Likewise, throughout history voices have risen advising that too strong an attachment to the past may overshadow full actualization of present potential – from Mosiodax (1730–1800), a Romanian who introduced the ideas of Locke in Greece (Theocharides, 1971), to the present. This observation, however, is only one of the many themes that permeate the history of adult education in Greece. A sampling of others follows.

Emerging Themes

Setbacks, especially from wars and strife, have disrupted continuity of efforts; however, several major recurring themes have become apparent:

1. Repeatedly throughout history Greek society during various periods rose to high levels of culture and learning, only to be conquered militarily by those superior in warfare but with less cultured intelligence in art, literature, science, and such areas. The flame of adult learning, however, never seemed to have been totally extinguished during any of the subjugation periods.

2. Despite the elitism and exclusivity of some forms of education for adults (particularly higher learning), efforts have been directed periodically throughout Greek history to educate the mass populace and raise the general level of education for all adults. Examples of this include: the efforts of the poet Hesiod in Archaic and pre-classical times who

through his epic poem ***Works and Days*** (which dealt with the lives of peasants and farmers) educated the Greek people about justice and injustice and the importance of living in harmony with self, society, and nature. Also, Sappho through her lyric poetry educated the masses about the perils of tyranny. Examples abound throughout Classical Greece: from the introduction by Pericles of the theorikon (state funds to cover attendance fees at cultural events for the poor), to the gymnasia which were open to the public, to the public meetings and intermingling of philosophers, artists, etc. as part of everyday life. During the Hellenistic years the soldiers of Alexander the Great did their part in educating the masses, while in Alexandria many cultural educational events were open to the public, and the state organized and maintained learning opportunities for all. During the Graeco-Roman years the Roman Agora continued this tradition, and during the long Byzantine era numerous thrusts were mounted to raise the educational level of the people. The efforts directed to the mass populace during, prior to, and immediately following the War of Independence from Turkish rule have already been stressed. In present day Greece, a participatory and self-management philosophy, which permeates current ideologies and politics, has propagated practice in which the empowerment of the people to help themselves is being actualized.

3. Throughout Greek history evidence abounds of free-standing or informal discussion groups, learning circles, etc. as a form of adult education centered around and held often – but not always – at the home of a leading statesman or scholar. Examples extend from Plato's symposia in classical times; meetings in the garden of Epicurus during Hellenistic times; discussion groups at the Roman Agora during the Graeco-Roman years; during the Byzantine era a reading club at the home of Photius during the eighth-ninth century, and at the lyceum-like Imperial Palace of Emperor Leo VI during the tenth century; during the Turkish occupation the formation of literary discussion clubs in the sixteenth and seventeenth century; and the myriad of informal discussion and learning groups which abound throughout modern Greek history.

With regard to adult education, Greece has never isolated itself from the world, a theme which will become increasingly more apparent as we focus on present efforts in Part Two.

PART TWO

ADULT EDUCATION IN GREECE TODAY

CHAPTER 3

THE PRESENT CONTEXT: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Economic, Social, and Political Background

Modern day Greece is a mountainous peninsula which, as shown on the map, page xvi, is bounded by Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Considered in conjunction with the myriad of Greek islands in the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas, the current population of Greece totals approximately 9.5 million (*Statistical Yearbook of Greece*, 1985). The official language is Greek and the established religion is Greek Orthodox.

Economic and social growth has been rapid in modern Greece over the past few decades, particularly since the end of the Civil War in the late 1940s and the beginning of reconstruction during the 1950s. Economic growth of the 1960s targeted reducing inflation and emigration and stabilizing the drachma. By the time democracy was restored in 1975 (after the fall of the military junta which ruled from 1967 to 1974), foreign investments had risen. The Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development of 1978–1982 focused on further promoting growth and reducing inflation. During 1981 Greece was admitted as a full member to the European Economic Community (EEC).

Politically speaking, democracy returned to Greece in 1974, and was put on a firm foundation with the ratification of the present constitution in 1975 which established Greece as a parliamentary democracy. The reader may recall that during that period a plebiscite vote abolished the monarchy and established Greece as a presidential republic. Also, over the past decade individuals who had emigrated earlier due to economic reasons and later for political reasons have been returning to their homeland.

The societal context, as we have seen throughout Greek history, tends to both reflect and contribute to the manner and form in which adult learning and education manifest themselves. The context tends to provide a philosophical, theoretical, as well as operational foundation and framework for the phenomenon of adult education as a movement, as a process, or in its more programmatic sense as sponsored activities, not to mention the policy framework which emerges at governmental levels. Governmental objectives and strategies play an important role. Whether individual adult learning efforts, or organizational initiatives embrace or are at variance with governmental policy frameworks, they all still live within the larger context of societal change engendered and consequently are affected by it.

An understanding, therefore, of the economic, social, and political context, as well as of events leading to the election of the present government should help the reader better grasp the current milieu of Greek society and, accordingly, the context of the adult education movement.

In October 1981, the first socialist government in the history of Greece was elected to power. Again, on June 2, 1985 PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) was reelected for another four year term. Although PASOK was officially founded in 1974, some Greek citizens trace the roots of what they call a "reform movement" back to Prime Minister Venizelos in the 1920s. As one senior citizen put it: "I supported Venizelos in the 1920s, George Papandreou in the 1960s, and now I vote for Andreas Papandreou. It is quite simple". The analysis by Limberes (1984) suggested that voting socialist in the 1981 elections represented the culmination of a trend begun in the 1960s, interrupted by the dictatorship, but reorganized by 1975.

Likewise, an examination by Macridis (1984) traces the roots of the victory as an evolutionary process; what kind of socialism, however, is an issue raised by the author. He questioned whether PASOK is " moving in the direction of democratic socialism" or "assuming the authoritarian stance of Third World socialist movements and regimes" (p. 5).

In any event, a significant factor for the adult education movement is that George Papandreou (PASOK Deputy in the Greek Parliament, and Under-Secretary of Culture from August 1985 to 1987, and eldest son of Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece and President of PASOK) has acted as a primary catalyst for changes made in policies, personnel, and programs of the popular education efforts within the Ministry of Education and transferred to the Ministry of Culture in August 1985, as discussed later.

First, however, an understanding of the party platform of PASOK, the Government program presented to and approved by Parliament, and particularly the Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1983-1987) approved by Parliament, provide an important framework for as well as a backdrop to adult education efforts. Each will be discussed below.

Party Platform and Government Program

The opening paragraph of Papandreou's Government program announced to Parliament on November 22, 1981 and approved on November 24, 1981 was as follows (*Greek Government Program*, 1981, p.5):

> National independence, territorial integrity, popular sovereignty and democracy, self-supporting economic and social development, a cultural revival, the revification of the countryside, the radical improvement of the quality of life in the towns and in the villages, social justice and, finally, social liberation are the target of our government and set the course we are to follow.

Elaborating further, Papandreou asserted that:

> social benefit must stand above individual profit... [but] we are not against private enterprise in... efforts which contribute to the country's development. Our final goal is social liberation. Social justice will govern our every proposal.

Underscored was the principle and practice of popular participation and of popular sovereignty tied to the multi-party system. Local self-government, unionism, and the important role of farming cooperatives were repeatedly stressed. Other primary targets were equality of the sexes, and health and welfare.

National independence seemed a key target of the presentation; consequently, the importance of culture and cultural education was recognized: "A primary consideration for people, who are struggling for their national independence is resistance to the erosion of its culture and its broader cultural development..." (p. 59).

More specifically, Papandreou asserted that "decisive support will be given to the institutions of continuous education of the people..." (p. 53).

With the publication of the final copy of the Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development on May 17, 1984, approved by Parliament in December 1984, (draft and preliminary copies were distributed during 1983), the Government platform and program had been officially translated into a tool lending a framework for and guidance to policy and program considerations.

The Five Year Economic and Social Development Plan (1983–1987)

Restructuring the Greek economy is a major governmental priority. The core of the Plan revolves around the decision of the government to move away from governmental spending on "capital" expenditures to the development of an investment program to stimulate growth. To support this movement, major incentive legislation has been enacted (Law 1262 of 1982 and Law 1386 of 1983). Investment incentives include: investment grants, interest rate subsidies, and non-taxable allowances – particularly in less developed regions of the country.

An entire section of the Plan deals with regional development. Essentially, the main aim is to encourage economic and social development of underdeveloped areas of the country and to reduce the congestion and pollution in high density areas such as Athens.

Main policy goals in the macro-economic arena include: (a) reduction of the unemployment rate, (b) gradual reduction of inflation, (c) promotion of competitiveness of Greek products in Third World markets, and (d) improvements in social services and quality of life.

The Plan essentially sets forth a three-fold framework to guide economic and social development for the country: (a) modernization, (b) decentralization, and (c) participation.

Modernization

The development of human resources received top billing under the aegis of modernization. Both the upgrading of formal education (Law 1256 of 1982 and Law 1404 of 1983) and the provision of training programs were highlighted. Other facets included:

- Improvement of competitiveness through restructuring of productive capacity in industry, agriculture, and services, based on an integrated system of investment incentives and government action.
- Rationalization of credit and interest rate policy.
- Provision of adjustment assistance and investment reorientation for rehabilitation of heavily indebted firms (Law 1386 of 1983).

Decentralization

Major features included:

- Decentralization of public administration and of management of public enterprises.

- Increased responsibility and independence of local authorities (Laws 1270 of 1982 and 1235 of 1982).
- Increase in funds under the control of local government.
- Provision of incentives for relocation away from overpopulated cities.
- Creation of employment opportunities in less developed areas.

Participation

As a hallmark of the socialist platform, major features of participation included:

- Formulation of government policy through ongoing discussions with social partners.
- Participation at local and regional levels in planning and budget decisions.
- Participation of employees, consumers, social institutions, and shareholders in management of public enterprises (Law 1365 of 1983).
- Representation of interested groups on supervisory councils for the mining sector.
- Widening and strengthening of the cooperative movement.
- Encouragement of joint ventures by private firms, cooperatives, local and national government.
- Introduction of continuing education programs and vocational training for widening effective participation of working adults in economic and community life.
- Reduction of income and wealth inequality through incomes and tax policy and the improvement of social services.

The development of the Plan itself was the outcome of a process that involved "broad participation of social groups at all levels". [The educational and educative nature of some of the voluntary groups convened to analyze and discuss social problems is discussed in Chapter 4.]

Public participation is again stressed in the section of the Plan dealing with administrative responsibility. Noted as critical is the functioning of citizens meetings (established by Law 1270 of 1981) which are designed to play an important role in generating proposals, ranking priorities, and providing the appropriate social control during the implementation stage.

Selected aspects of targeted development in different sectors which seem particularly pertinent to adult education are reviewed below.

Targeted Development Pertinent to Adult Education

Agriculture

Identified among the main problems to further development of the agricultural sector were: "Structural and organizational inefficiencies in marketing and processing of agricultural products and inadequacy of infrastructure, low level of technology in comparison to the EEC (European Economic Community) due to inadequate training and extension facilities, research, etc".

Accordingly, major policy objectives pertinent to educational intervention or support include: strengthening of farmers' cooperative activities and improvement of the standard of living of the rural population. Special targeted policy measures detailed in the plan included: technical aid to farmers, and improvement of agricultural extension and education services.

Domestic Trade and Distribution

Consumerism seems to have received targeted attention in the Plan. Major policy measures include the creation of cooperation as well as the creation of consumer boards with consulting and educational responsibilities.

Tourism

As a main source of income, basic aims in this area are the development of new forms of tourism and expansion of existing facilities. The educational value of travel for citizens of Greece was also stressed. [As discussed further in Chapter 4, subsidized "cultural vacations" for working people have been introduced.]

Protection and Rehabilitation of the Environment

A major policy measure is environmental education at all levels as well as the systematic dissemination of information on environmental matters.

Education

The sector of the plan specifically labeled education lists as a major policy objective and measure the development of in-service and continuing education programs for teachers and other personnel, upgrading and development of technical and vocational education and, in general, further expansion of adult education and informal education programs.

Health Services
In conjunction with the establishment of a National Health System the creation of a network of health centers, as well as hospitals, was planned throughout the country.

Sports
Consistent with the ancient Greek maxim of "a sound mind in a sound body" as the ideal of an educated person, athletics and physical fitness are recognized in the Plan as "important factors contributing to health, education, and social conscience". The Plan further calls for the "development of athletic activities in places of employment, the expansion of sports and recreational facilities at all levels of the educational system and in places of work and in neighborhoods," as well as the "creation of multiple-purpose sports complexes," including the "development of sports complexes in large manufacturing firms," and the "selective creation of common facilities for local communities and educational establishments". In addition, the "establishment of facilities for national and international events" has been targeted.

Equality of the Sexes
Major and fundamental reform in family law was targeted and accompanied by planned measures to establish equal opportunities for females in all occupations, especially agriculture and traditionally male-dominated occupations. Consistent with these advances, development of a social infrastructure was addressed (e.g. Family Guidance Centers, Day Care Centers, etc.).

Youth
Policy objectives stressed development of special employment programs (due to high rate of youth unemployment) and other programs for youth, including Cultural and Educational Centers and activities.

Social Welfare
In addition to lack of planning and coordination, major problems cited by the Plan included: "lack of trained and specialized personnel, lack of community based care, and insufficient coverage of population". Thus, major policy measures covered: (a) family, maternity and the child (family guidance, day care, home help, etc.), (b) aging and chronically ill (community centers, residential care and housing for the aged, and expansion of residential care for the chronically sick), (c) handicapped (diagnostic and preventive measures and educational service, financial support, and rehabilitation in opportunities for employment), (d) social pathology (centers for the treatment of drug addiction and rehabilitation of

juvenile delinquents).

Social Security
A basic aim was the restructuring of the system so as to reduce inequalities of coverage, particularly for low benefit groups and women.

Research and Technology
The major problems cited in this area were the "inadequate institutional and legal framework for research and development activities", and "little connection between research and development...at universities and public research institutes and the productive sectors". The major policy objective laid down by the Plan, therefore, was the "creation of a modern institutional and organizational setup for research and development".

Cultural Development
One need not read the Five Year Plan to know that Greece has a "vast cultural and historical heritage", noted in the Plan. The aim is to build upon this heritage. However, an "uneven geographic distribution of cultural activities" has been observed, "characterized by a high degree of concentration in the large urban areas, primarily Athens". Policy guidelines of the Plan, consequently, emphasize promotion of policy for "protection of our cultural and historic heritage," including "expansion and improvement of the quality of cultural services to all segments of the population," encompassing both those in Greece and abroad (for example, "cultivation of close cultural ties with Greek expatriates" and an "active policy of cultural exchanges and cooperation with other countries and international organizations with emphasis on the richness and continuity of the Greek cultural heritage"). Millions of drachmas have likewise been earmarked for the following basic development projects: excavation and sea floor activities, museums, monuments, and cultural activities such as theaters (regional and municipal and a new building for the National Theater), national network of libraries, and Cultural Centers.

Major measures outlined by the Plan include: development of decentralized "cultural infrastructure network (public libraries, theaters, Cultural Centers, etc.)", and "financial support to autonomous/private associations and/or groups providing cultural services at the local level". Furthermore "strengthening and upgrading of the educational services related to the arts and letters," as well as emphasis on preserving the heritage are noted. The measures also stress the "support of faculties of modern Greek studies in foreign universities" and "close cooperation with

Greek expatriates, and other cultural events in countries where there are important Greek minorities".

A significant event which has occurred since the development of the Five Year Plan is the naming of Athens by the European Economic Community as the first Cultural Capital of Europe (June–December 1985).

Telecommunications - Post - Radio - Television

The main thrust of this segment was geared to the expansion of telex capacity, modernization of the network, and general improvements in the quality of telecommunication services.

Recapitulation

The current *political* context, therefore, is social–democratic in nature – with a participatory philosophy permeating policy and practice. Much of the governmentally orchestrated adult education, consequently, is geared toward grass–roots mobilization and education for social awareness. A familiar motto adopted for these efforts has been that of "helping a person learn how to fish" rather than "providing them with fish".

With an eye to restructuring and improving the *economy*, the development of human resources has received top attention and is most probably in line with the policy of the investment program (i.e. investing likewise in human resources).

Operating within a framework of *social* reform, major reorganization of family law combined with the impact of the women's movement [discussed in more detail in Chapter 5] have contributed to an atmosphere and climate of growth as evidenced in educational and educative activities [discussed in Chapters 4 and 5].

CHAPTER 4

THE DELIVERY SYSTEM: ADULT EDUCATION AGENTS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES

As we have seen, the variety of operating systems, agents, and social structures involved in and interacting with adult learning and the education of adults in present day Greece have been evolving over decades, and some for centuries. Their structure, function, organization, policy, foundations, and operationalizations have been evolutionary and in some cases revolutionary. Philosophical and theoretical foundations as well have in some cases changed over the years.

Several factors observed throughout Greek history, however, are still significant today. For example, physical training and athletics are considered just as much a part of adult education as education for occupational and professional development and refinement. General cultural education (including but not limited to the theater, drama, art, music) since ancient and medieval times, through efforts to heal the nation after the Turkish occupation in the nineteenth century, and up to modern day Greece, forms an integral part of Greek life. More recently, concerted organized efforts have been mounted in the area of education for social awareness and social change.

The reader may recall that a dense nucleus of scholars in fourteenth century Byzantium were likewise concerned with social injustice and reform and their writings apparently influenced later activists. They did not have, however, (as does the present movement) the unprecedented support of a governmental framework and party platform which fosters participatory involvement and social change.

Delivery System Defined

As discussed in this chapter, the delivery "system" (and that word is used cautiously) for adult education in Greece is not limited only to operating systems such as institutions, agencies, and organizations providing learning activities for adults. To do so would be to restrict the definition of adult education to its more programmatic aspect of organized learning activities and providership. The approach will include legislative and policy foundations, various popular and social movements and their educative nature, as well as independent learning efforts by individuals and non-sponsored study groups, learning circles and other self-help manifestations. In this manner, adult education is comprehensively treated as a process by which adults continue to grow and as a movement (in its attempts to change the social order) which may or may not avail itself of the more structured activities organized by societal agents. It likewise considers the variety of material and human learning resources, uncovered in Greek society by the writer as well as by the myriad of adult learners with whom she has spoken over the six years during which the ongoing inquiry has been in process. In many aspects, the inquiry is still in process, for the words of Edwin Townsend-Coles (1973, p. 10) still ring true today: "There is no means of discovering from one source a full picture of adult education in Greece. Rather it is a matter of piecing together the parts of a jigsaw."

The purpose of this chapter, then, is to present a comprehensive picture of the mosaic of adult education in Greece. For the most part, the chapter will be framed from a dynamic perspective of how the scene has evolved and continues to evolve, rather than from a static "snapshot" account of adult education in Greece at the present.

Leadership Systems

Leadership systems for adult education are defined by Schroeder (1980) as: State, Regional, and National Government; adult education degree programs; professional associations of adult educators; and private foundations. With the exception of governmental input, the other elements are for the most part absent from adult education endeavors in Greece. Some research centers, however, [noted further in Chapter 6] are contiguous with adult learning efforts. The Center for Studies and Self-Education (KEMEA), a newly formed non-profit group (a member of the International Council for Adult Education as of October 1985) began to publish a periodical geared to popular education efforts [more details concerning KEMEA are given in Chapter 6]. The inaugural issue of *Automorphōsē*, as it is called, was published in the summer of 1983, but by 1986 had stopped publication. No professional association of adult educators exists, and neither does even a single university-level course dealing with adult learning and education. Some psychology departments touch on adult cognition and development, but findings are neither disseminated nor used by those working with adults as learners in Greece (Demetriou, 1985). Consequently, the movement as yet lacks this kind of support to lend a leadership function and to catalyze unification of a professional identity as adult educators or even recognize adult education as a comprehensive movement. Current governmental efforts, however, are moving in this direction. For example, during the summer of 1987 a new effort was launched in the form of an office to coordinate efforts in the country (Syntonistiko Grapheio Epimorphōsē).

One might characterize adult education in Greece as in the Titmus model (1983) as still more of a collective label than an organized unity or movement, although one must be quick to point out that each of the threads which are interwoven to form the tapestry of adult education presents a strong presence. For example – in addition to Ministerial efforts in culture and education – extension education, cooperative education, the women's movement, and others abound.

Moreover, Ministry of Education personnel for a number of years have recognized the importance of educating others who work with adult learners as to their role or part in the larger whole of the adult education movement. Petros Kehayiopoulos, who worked with the Adult Education Office since 1954 and was National Director of Adult Education from the mid 1960s through 1981, initiated the first known publication (Kehayiopoulos & Piascou, 1980) devoted to reviewing some of the many agents of adult learning and helping them and others understand their part in the greater whole of lifelong learning. [More recent efforts in this regard are discussed in Chapter 6.]

In order to classify aspects of the adult education delivery system in Greece use was made of Schroeder's typology of Leadership Systems, discussed above; Operating Systems, discussed in the next section; and Client Systems or target groups discussed in Chapter 5. [Operating Systems (support structures and agents) which are specific only to a particular client group will be discussed in Chapter 5 rather than this chapter, e.g. The Hellenic Cotton Board or The National Tobacco Council which deal only with the continuing education of farmers.]

Operating Systems

A commonly used way to discuss adult education activities is to classify them into school and non-school (formal and non-formal) endeavors, complemented by informal avenues such as family, friends, and other resources to self-learning. Mass media are sometimes categorized with non-formal or informal endeavors. Such distinctions, however, seem both blurred and artificial in Greece where, for example, the National Tourist Organization has a School of Tourism, the General Confederation of Workers has established a School for Worker Education, the cooperative movement operates a College for Cooperative Education; and where people's universities are not at all universities in the conventional sense of the word (that is, degrees are not offered by these institutions which are fashioned more in line with Plato's symposia or itinerant Sophist's lecturers).

Consequently, in the Greek case it makes more sense to talk in terms of what is considered traditional formal education and the provisions that are made for adults in that system, and to treat all other contexts as non-formal or informal in nature.

Formal Education

Most efforts directed to the adult years in the formal education system are concerned either with helping adults complete their formal education, improve or update occupational and professional qualifications, or acquire new ones. In this regard parenting may also be viewed as an "occupation" in light of the newly initiated parent education endeavors conjointly undertaken by a number of bodies, as discussed later.

Basic and Secondary Education for Adults

With regard to helping adults complete their formal education, Day and Night Primary Schools exist *both* under governmental auspices as well as through private endeavors. As we have seen, the private sector dominated these efforts throughout the nineteenth century until the 1954 Law of Illiteracy which promulgated an expansive development particularly of Night Primary Schools throughout the country, compulsory for those 14–20 years old. Authority to grant a completion certificate lies within the Primary Division of the Ministry of Education. In some rural areas the Center for Adult Education performs this function.

Secondary education, which is also available to working people at night, comes under the administrative jurisdiction of the Secondary School (& Vocational Education) Departments of the Ministry of Education. The many-faceted vocational and technical education system will be discussed separately in the next section due to its presence across many governmental bodies, as well as the private sector.

In-Service Education of Teachers

As discussed earlier, Law 186 of 1975, established the Center for Educational Research and Planning and In-Service Education of Teachers (KEME). Organized as a consultative body to the Ministry of Education, one of its stated functions is to plan in-service training for teachers. KEME has been engaged in a study to reorganize and modernize the system of in-service training for teachers (Law 1566 of 1985 changed the name of KEME to PI [Pedagogical Institute]).

Currently two schools for in-service training are in operation: (a) SELDE for the in-service education of primary school teachers and (b) SELME for secondary school teachers. Teachers' federations and unions also play a role in educational ventures for their members.

Vocational-Technical Education

Vocational and technical education has struggled to emerge in Greece. An historical analysis by Rasis (1974) offers an understanding of the cultural tradition of Greece and its past proclivity to classical education which, along with other factors, affected negatively the development of vocational-technical education in the country. Until the late 1950s Greece remained one of the few countries in which the State had not formally recognized the importance of vocational-technical education. It was not until the major educational reforms of 1959 (Decrees No. 3971 and 3973) that the introduction of vocational education into the public schools was made possible. Law 576 of 1977 further stipulated that vocational education could not begin until after the completion of nine years of compulsory schooling, but that technical and vocational courses were to be introduced into compulsory education.

One of the more noteworthy aspects of the original 1959 legislation (Law 3971, Article 29) was the establishment (in the tertiary sector) of SELETE (College for the Training of Technical and Vocational Teachers). Philosophical, psychological, and theoretical subjects, as well as practical training are offered. The College is divided into:

1. Pedagogical Technical School(s) (PATES) for graduates of secondary, higher, and highest institutions, and

2. Higher Technical School of Educational Technologies (ASETEM).

In addition, five model schools are run by the College: a technical lyceum, a vocational lyceum, and three technical schools

86

(OECD, 1982, p. 85).

Most significant at the tertiary level in addition to SELETE, were the Centers for Higher Technical and Vocational Education (KATEE) which although authorized by Legislative Decree 652 during 1970, with the assistance of the World Bank, did not begin operating until 1973. A Five Year Plan (1981-1985) for the Development of Vocational and Technical Education in Greece specifically earmarked 13,840 million drachmas for the establishment and furnishing of KATEE. Basically, a KATEE participant would engage in both theoretical and practical domains of learning, including practical experience outside the institution. The following schools represent a sampling of those included within a KATEE: Engineering Technology, Food Technology, Business Administration, Public Health and Social Work, Agriculture, Graphic and Decorative Arts, and others. Relevant to adult education endeavors, the establishments were also authorized to "conduct in-service seminars and training courses" in accordance with Article 33 of Law 1304 of 1982, "for graduates of other tertiary institutions and for persons who possess the secondary education leaving certificate". Some of these courses have been funded by the European community (*Report to the Education Committee*, 1983). Faculty development was also addressed, for example, during 1982 – financed by UNESCO – KATEE professors were trained in England, Germany, France, and Italy (OECD, p. 70).

Vocational and technical education seems to be taking hold in Greece, which appears interested in improving the system by learning from the successful efforts of other countries as well. Governmental assessment indicated, however, that the organization of KATEE proved insufficient both in quantity and quality to fulfill the original aim of their establishment, i.e. linking education with economic, production, and labor needs of Greece. Consequently, a decision was made via Law 1404 of 1983 to upgrade and redesignate them as Technological Training Establishments (TEI). Within such an overarching rubric were included schools such as those of Health and Welfare Professions, Technological Applications, Agriculture, Administration and Economy, Graphic Arts and Fine Arts, and others, each of which is governed by a similar purpose and mission: Knowledge and application of scientific knowledge to national, economic and social development of the country.

Each school contains 50-odd departments. The structure is amenable to continual modifications and rearrangement to improve the overall function of the TEI. A Council of Technological Education – comprised of the Ministries, OAED, KEPE, Teachers' and Students' Unions and others – also guides this process.

These efforts in the vocational technical area are spearheaded by a desire to "close the gap between education and the labor market" (OECD, p. 25). Since in Greece vocational education traditionally seems to have had a stigma attached to it in the eyes of both adults and youth, an effort is being made to educate parents and the public-at-large with regard to its benefits both to the individual and society. Radio and television programs, publications, and presentations are part of this effort. When one speaks of Greek tradition it is important to understand the classical distinction between education for a profession (i.e. practicing expert) as practiced by the Sophists and education for general culture (paideia).

Private industry, business, and commerce also contribute much to the vocational efforts, in apprenticeship training, as does the Ministry of Labor, the National Tourist Organization (School for Tourism preparing hotel staff, waiters, etc.) and others.

Vocational training of the disabled received targeted attention recently. In fact, incentives have been given to the private sector to encourage employment of the disabled. Training and rehabilitation services are provided, for example, by the National Institute for Rehabilitation, and occupational Centers for the Disabled. Services such as "The Sun" Institute for Care of the Blind in Northern Greece provide telephone operator training and workshops for weaving, basketmaking, printing, crafts, etc.

Before concluding a discussion of education directed to the adult years by the formal education system, the reader may have noted the absence of a discussion of the university's role in adult education. Throughout their history Greek universities have served the exclusive function of offering degrees to a highly selective group of students. Admission has been limited to a predetermined number of those scoring above a specified cut-off point on examinations. Many university professors, however, have for years engaged in lectures and other activities relevant to the continuing education of the public. Some have even conducted classes and other learning activities at the Centers for Adult Education organized by NELE in each district. The present government has expressed an interest, however, in further exploring the role of the university itself in offering continuing education opportunities to adults. The organization of the National Council for University Level Education (ESAP), organized in 1983 as a result of Law 1268/1982 regarding the democratization and modernization of the university, should provide a start. ESAP, basically a monitoring body, is designed to make recommendations to the government on university matters; including the coordination of university-level education with continuing education programs and in-service requirements.

Non-Formal and Informal Education

Adult education efforts witnessed across the many institutions, agencies, and organizations of Greek society are not coordinated enough to be called a system. Consequently, to render meaningful and impose a sense of order (for discussion purposes) on the phenomenon of adult education permeating Greek society-at-large, the discussion will begin with activities initiated or sponsored by the variety of Ministries, as well as any centers or bodies under their respective supervision. Since Ministry of Education efforts have historically acted as forerunner of countrywide efforts, their present evolution will culminate the discussion on ministerial involvement initiatives and coordination in order to lead up to a synthesis.

Discussion will then proceed to independent organizations and private initiatives, followed by an examination of a variety of movements permeating Greek society and their educative nature. [This Chapter and Chapter 5 on Learners in Adult Education should be read as an attempt to weave a tapestry and tie together the many threads of the adult education movement.]

Involvement of Government Ministries in Adult Education

Each of the Ministries offers orientation and training activities to new employees. Most offer some form of in-service training and education, and some offer educational activities for management development. None, however, has a Directorate of Adult Education as did the Ministry of Education.

During August 1985, however, it was announced that the Directorate of Adult Education would be removed from the Ministry of Education and all efforts transferred to the Ministry of Culture, an event which occurred shortly thereafter. It is still too early at this writing to determine the permanence of such a move or the manner in which it will affect and impact the planning, coordination, and manifestation of adult education in Greek society. The Ministries most actively involved in adult education endeavors will be discussed below.

The Ministry of Agriculture has had a broad program of education and information for the rural population throughout Greece, particularly since 1951 when Law 1643/51 authorized the formation of the Office of Agricultural Education. This program has always aimed at the improvement of the quality of life for peasants.

In 1977, Presidential Decree 433 made the Ministry of Agriculture responsible for out-of-school education of farmers.

Centers for Professional and Agricultural Education (KEGE), which are found in most Prefectures, are designed for learning activities lasting anywhere from one day to two months. Some of the Centers also have libraries. The extension agent attached to the Center also visits small village groups and individual farmers for special needs.

In addition, exhibitions and fairs are a popular way of keeping the rural population updated. Also in use are weekly television and radio broadcasts specifically geared to the continuing education of the farmer and peasant. Also, most recently, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Greek Telecommunications Organization (OTE) have cooperated in the installation of an agricultural "videotex" network (approximately 130 videotex receivers) throughout Greece, which will help to provide rural population with a timely supply of information.

[Efforts of the cooperative movement as well as of agricultural extension are discussed further in Chapter 5 under agricultural workers as a client system.]

The Ministry of Justice handles education and professional updating of judges, probates, and correctional officials, sometimes coordinated with the Ministry of the Prime Minister. Professional development of law enforcement officers and constables, however, are handled by two other governmental bodies, the Headquarters of Police, and the Headquarters of Constables, respectively. The former publishes the *Law Enforcement Chronicle*, while the latter publishes the *Review for Constables*; both organize as well various schools – including those for market inspection, sanitation, and fingerprinting.

Law 71/1973 established the presence of public primary schools in correctional institutions under the supervision of the Ministry of Education; however, they appear to cater to those under 45 years. The vocational preparation of inmates was also authorized under the above legislation.

Further, Article 32489 of the 1978 Circular of the Ministry of Justice established the introduction of the programs directed by NELE into the prisons, thus forging a link between education of inmates and the Adult Education Division of the Ministry of Education (Kehayiopoulos, 1981). This cooperative venture has been continued since the Office of Popular/Adult Education was transferred to the Ministry of Culture. Currently, some areas of Greece experience more active involvement of popular education personnel than others in correctional education. Moreover, the input is not restricted to classroom formats. Plays, for example, depicting situations timely and pertinent to the inmate have been employed as a learning medium by popular education staff.

The Ministry of the Interior, as a result of Law 232/1975 is charged with the education of the public employee. Also, the Ministry of the Interior quite recently (1982) set up committees for equality in each of the 51 districts in Greece. Serving as information centers, as well as in an advisory and advocacy position, they work directly with the educational efforts of the Council for the Equality of the Sexes, discussed further on. The Ministry of the Exterior facilitates the professional exchange of scholars.

The Ministries of Merchant Marine and National Defense each engages in education of officers and enlistees, such as coast guard officers, gendarmerie, and military police officers; army, navy, and aviation cadets; military doctors, dentists, and pharmacists, (*Educational profile: Greece*, 1984), as well as the continuing education of soldiers, sailors, and air force personnel. Efforts are also aimed by the Merchant Marine at training and development in the area of shipbuilding and ship repair (targeted to the broader aim of attracting business to the country).

As of 1987, the Office of Popular/Adult Education within the Ministry of Culture has begun to design and offer continuing education programs for military units. Programs such as literacy, foreign languages, photography, preventive medicine and others are operational. Needs assessments are being organized to target the unique and specific needs of military groups. Furthermore, efforts are being directed at the stengthening of cooperative relationships and endeavors between the military and the Office of Popular/Adult Education (*Synoptiko Sēmeiōma*, 1987).

The Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. Educational campaigns have been a most popular way to help the Greek population learn more about health and welfare matters. Anti-cancer talks have been promoted across the country as have campaigns about smoking – particularly the harmful consequences of smoking for pregnant women and babies. In accord with regulation and recommendation of the World Health Organization, "no smoking" restrictions have been placed in hospitals and closed places. Education of the public takes place via television, radio, posters, and pamphlets.

During 1981, when it was learned that Greek babies were among the fattest in the world, a massive public education campaign, especially via television, was launched to educate the Greek public that fat babies were not healthy babies. Having sustained much war and turmoil throughout its history, often accompanied by lack of food, chubbiness in the minds of many Greeks had become a symbol of prosperity. This idea seems to have diminished now.

Since 1981, preventive health is particularly being stressed as an aim of adult education endeavors (Kōstarellou-Bourntena, 1983). These educational efforts are conveyed to the community through the new Health Centers recently established throughout the country where better medical treatment and social care are stressed.

The introduction of medical care at places of employment is laying a further foundation for preventive medicine in Greece. Health and Safety Advisory Committees have also been established, especially in factories, to act as advisory committees with regard to improving working conditions and with regard to health and safety matters. These efforts, which host representatives from the General Confederation of Workers as well as experts in factory health, are undertaken in conjunction with the Ministry of Labor.

In addition, the Ministry of Health and Welfare, starting in 1982, set up family planning programs throughout Greece, particularly so as to be accessible to those in villages. Especially for those in remote areas, the National Welfare Organization runs educational activities in child care. Child Care Centers and Counseling Centers for both city and rural women, however, are being developed throughout the country (Laiou-Antoniou, n.d.). These efforts are being aided by the Family Planning Association of Greece.

Finally, Day Centers for the Aged (KAPĒ) are an especially new innovation in Greece where home care of the elderly has always been a family tradition and responsibility. In addition to the availability of medical care, formal and informal educational activities are provided at the centers.

All of the above developments are consistent with the provision of the Five Year Plan (1983-1987) [as discussed in Chapter 3].

The Ministry of the National Economy concerns itself with the status and development of the Greek economy. The Center of Planning and Economic Research (KEPE), a body of the Ministry founded in 1961, is responsible for preparing development plans, as well as for conducting economic research. It also conducts and publishes surveys and monographs, as well as offers lectures and seminars about the Greek economy. Moreover, it also has a library. The current Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1983-1987) [discussed in Chapter 3], originated from KEPE. As we have seen, the Plan provides a framework for development and educational activities within the country, particularly those within governmental auspices.

Another body supervised by the Ministry of National Economy is ELKEPA, the Greek Productivity Center, a non-profit scientific organization founded in 1955. ELKEPA has an extensive organization and mission as depicted in Figure 2. Generally, however, it is responsible for helping to raise the level of productivity in Greece (*ELKEPA: Aims, prospects, and organizational structure*, n.d., p.1). Consequently, the organization is engaged in assisting any organization involved with economic, technological, and social activities to increase both their effectiveness and their efficiency.

The main aims and activities are six-fold (ELKEPA, p. 2-9): (a) information, (b) training, (c) consulting (advisory role), (d) research and studies, (e) data processing, and (f) publications.

1. **Information**: ELKEPA serves as an information center and service in the areas of production, financing, marketing, organizational management, and research and development. The information offered is supported and complemented by a library.

2. **Training**: A central and critical function of ELKEPA includes long-term training for employees and university-level graduates in areas not covered by university or post-graduate studies; short-term training for middle and higher level staff; and in-company training, organized and conducted at the request of a specific enterprise or organization.

3. **Consulting**: The advisory role of ELKEPA includes diagnosis of problems and derivations of suggestions, solutions, and recommendations for improvement. In addition, this function involves specific studies and implementation of micro-processor and computer-based information systems, where and when called for.

4. **Research and studies**: These deal with many aspects of organizational life, improvement of working conditions, and the quality of working life.

5. **Data processing**: This is a service which revolves around the use of computers in Greece and which includes advisory and training activities for effective use of computers.

6. **Publications**: These are produced on a regular basis to disseminate information about increasing productivity.

ELKEPA has also enlisted the aid of the Institute for the Study of the Greek Economy (IMEO) in conducting research on the experience of Greek enterprises, in which worker participation in decision making has been practiced. IMEO itself has also organized conferences and disseminated publications on the theme of self-management, all quite reflective of the participatory platform of the government and a major theme of the Five Year Plan (IMEO, 1983).

In addition, ELKEPA has developed a new Management Institute designed specifically for education of present management as well as development of potential management force (Laios, 1984). If successful, this feat may be remarkable in a country where family rule in business has prevailed. Perhaps, the further development of the Institute (which is guided by a Board of Directors from both public and private sectors) may hold promise for alleviating the concerns of Kanellopoulos (1980, p. 224) that "the quality of Greek management falls short of that in other countries of Western Europe, to such a degree that one could in many cases describe Greek management, in general, as not professional".

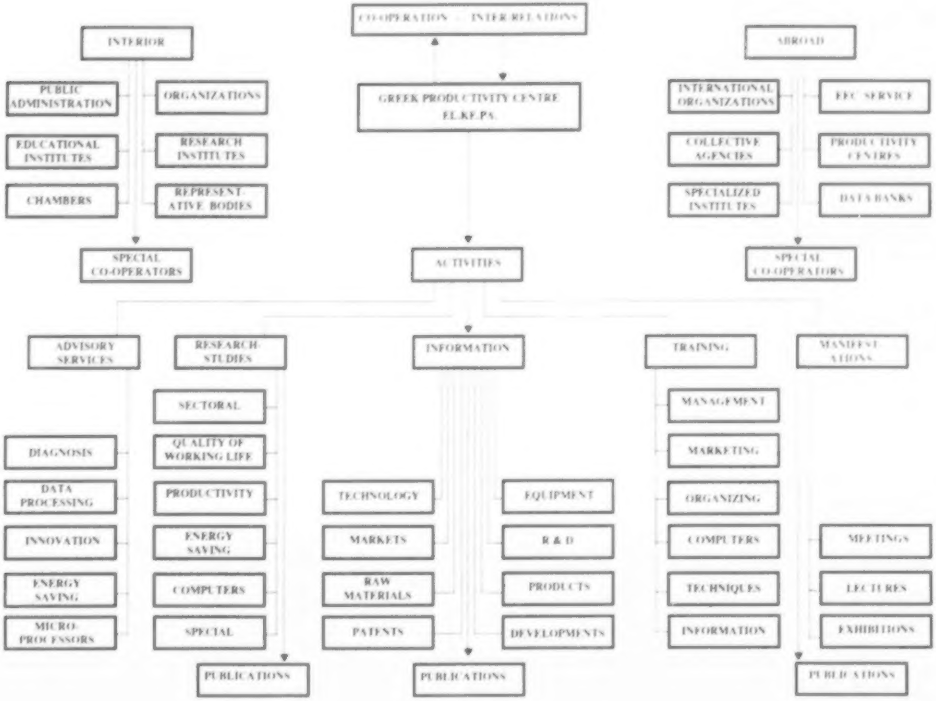
Finally, with the assistance of the European Social Fund, ELKEPA is cooperating with the Manpower Employment Organization (OAED) of the Ministry of Labor in a program to offer specialized education to unemployed university or college graduates (18-30 years old) to work in Greek enterprises. ELKEPA is responsible for theoretical education and OAED for practical training.

ELKEPA and OAED are also cooperating along with the Ministry of Education in a program which trains women in traditionally "male" professions as well as in new technologies (Laiou-Antoniou, n.d.).

The Ministry of Labor, in addition to its cooperative venture with ELKEPA [discussed above], is also cooperating with the Urban Transport Organization and the Council for the Equality of the Sexes [discussed later] in training women bus drivers. The venture started during 1984.

Consistent with the goals of the Five Year Plan, the Ministry – under the auspices of its Manpower Employment Organization (OAED) – has developed Centers for Working Youth (replete with libraries, reading rooms, gymnasia, etc.), as well as training centers and schools to combat the high unemployment rate among youth. As of 1984, thirty-nine educational facilities in twenty-five cities and towns all over Greece had been established, training young men and women for a range of more than forty skilled occupations. Examples include engineering work, draftmaking, carpentry, maintenance and repair of electric and electronic equipment. The training lasts three years, consists of theoretical

Figure 2 - Organizational Structure of ELKEPA the Greek Productivity Center


CO-OPERATION - INTER-RELATIONS
INTERIOR
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
ORGANIZATIONS
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES
RESEARCH INSTITUTES
CHAMBERS
REPRESENT-ATIVE BODIES
SPECIAL CO-OPERATORS
GREEK PRODUCTIVITY CENTRE EL.KE.PA.
ABROAD
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
EEC SERVICE
COLLECTIVE AGENCIES
PRODUCTIVITY CENTRES
SPECIALIZED INSTITUTES
DATA BANKS
SPECIAL CO-OPERATORS
ACTIVITIES
ADVISORY SERVICES
RESEARCH-STUDIES
INFORMATION
TRAINING
MANIFEST-ATIONS
SECTORAL
DIAGNOSIS
QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE
DATA PROCESSING
PRODUCTIVITY
INNOVATION
ENERGY SAVING
ENERGY SAVING
COMPUTERS
MICRO-PROCESSORS
SPECIAL
PUBLICATIONS
TECHNOLOGY
EQUIPMENT
MARKETS
R & D
RAW MATERIALS
PRODUCTS
PATENTS
DEVELOPMENTS
PUBLICATIONS
MANAGEMENT
MARKETING
ORGANIZING
COMPUTERS
TECHNIQUES
INFORMATION
MEETINGS
LECTURES
EXHIBITIONS
PUBLICATIONS

and practical experiences, as well as on-the-job training during which the trainees are paid wages as well as provided with social service and medical care. Moreover, they get free room and board.

In addition, seminars for middle management in industrial firms and other companies have been developed to provide familiarization with development in technology and management techniques.

The Ministry of Labor also acts as a coordinating agent and keeps records of all Greek applicants to the European Economic Community for training funds. An examination of these data revealed that a myriad of agents in Greek society provide or attempt to provide some sort of training activities for their clients and employees (e.g. utility companies, professional associations, laboratories, etc.) (Bougas, 1984; Ministry of Labor, 1984).

The Ministry of the Prime Minister. Since 1982 the Ministry of the Prime Minister, in addition to supervising mass media, has established two bodies which have proven extremely vital to the adult education movement in the country: (a) the Council for the Equality of the Sexes, and (b) the Under-Ministry of the New Generation. This latter entity has recently been transferred to the Ministry of Culture and is headed by a General Secretariat.

The Council for the Equality of the Sexes, established by Law 1288 of 1982, and operational by March 1983, to "counsel the Prime Minister,...is the first Governmental body to be set up in Greece whose express purpose is to provide equality between the sexes" (*The Greek Council for Equality*, n.d.).

As a part of its plan of action it collaborates with Committees for Equality which have been set up by the Ministry of the Interior in each of the 51 Prefectures of Greece. These committees are responsible for making citizens of their respective Prefecture aware of the question of equality, and to inform them and to find solutions with regard to questions of discrimination. So, in effect, they serve both as advisory bodies and advocates, as well as information centers. To "inform and enlighten the public on matters relating to the equality of the sexes" the staff organizes and conducts seminars and lectures throughout Greece. Moreover, it takes responsibility for briefing individuals and groups with regard to sex equality.

The public likewise needs updating and education on the massive legislative changes that have been made with regard to family law as a result of Law 1329 of 1983, among them:

- Recognition of marriage by either religious ceremony or civil ceremony.

- No longer one head of the family (the man).
- Wife may retain her own surname, and the children may be given either the husband's or the wife's surname or both names.
- Abolition of the dowry.
- Permission of divorce by mutual consent.
- Paternal authority abolished and parental care substituted.

The Council also cooperates with other agencies and bodies. For example, with the aid of social funds from the European Economic Community (EEC), the Council for the Equality of the Sexes – in conjunction with the National Tourist Organization, leaders of the Cooperative Movement, and others – was instrumental in creating the first agro–tourist cooperative at Petra, Mytilini. Under this plan, EEC funded construction of a one room addition to the homes of cooperating farmers, in which they were permitted to live during the winter and which they had to maintain as tourist facilities during spring and summer. The cooperative efforts extended from the farming, to the preparation and canning of products, to the establishment and operation of a restaurant, as well as the maintenance of tourist accommodation. Other agro–tourist cooperatives followed, for example, at the historic Ampelakia, as well as on the Island of Chios, all run and maintained exclusively by women.

One can readily see how these activities were not only developmental for the participants, but also form part of the more general plan for social and economic advancement of Greece.

[The efforts directed at the development of women and the active role played by a growing women's movement in Greece is further spotlighted in Chapter 5 on client systems/target groups and learners in adult education.]

Since the responsibility for the New Generation and Sports has only recently been transferred to the Ministry of Culture, the nature and scope of such activities will be discussed here as a part of its developmental progression under the Ministry of the Prime Minister.

In addition to focusing on development of youth and the organization of sports programs for *all ages*, the efforts have a computerized information system. Work in conjunction with a number of other Ministries – such as employment, culture, and others has resulted in many newly organized learning opportunities for adults in Greece.

For example, although both professional and lay team sports have always been promoted as part of the Greek tradition, state sponsorship of sports and more specifically *exercise* programs are new, particularly those introduced into primary schools and correctional institutions, operating under the title of Exercise and Life. A program entitled Children and the Ocean which basically offers lessons in physical fitness through swimming operates also in cooperation with local self-government.

A special program for women, called Movement Means Life, has operated since 1983. Exercise classes as well as instruction in physical fitness and diet are available. Physical education instructors for these programs, although already qualified, have been afforded continuing education themselves in that they have been sent to special month-long Sport for Women seminars in Finland. Also, speakers have been invited to Greece to organize and teach seminars in the country.

As noted, sport programs and exercise for all ages exist. In addition to the physical fitness programs specifically for youth and women, a program in sports and exercise for the elderly has also been undertaken. In fact, special seminars train teachers in sport for the elderly. All exercise classes are free of charge. Moreover, local governments are financed to develop sports clubs open to the public. Previously, clubs were the domain of athletic unions and closed to public, or one paid for membership in clubs.

Sports and athletics are seen as contributing not only to personal development and well-being, but also to international peace, understanding, and conservation. The reader will recall that a prime source of unity among the disparate city-states of ancient Greece were the Pan-Hellenic Festivals, and gymnasia (open to all) abounded in ancient Greece.

In addition to strides in exercise and sport, youth centers have been established throughout Greece. One might go there for rest and relaxation as well as to partake of study groups, music lessons, and the like. Amateur theater and music groups are also being set up.

Reminiscent of the theorikon of Pericles in ancient Greece (see p. 5), cards have been issued which will allow students to attend a theater performance free of charge. Coordinated with the schools, the plays are carefully selected, discussion groups follow, and sometimes an opportunity to speak with the producer and writer is provided.

Although seemingly outside the scope of adult education as understood in some countries, these efforts may hold the promise for catalyzing a lifelong learning attitude and an appreciation of cultural education as an integral part of learning endeavors.

Moreover, under a plan called social tourism, working youth are afforded a ten day free "learning vacation". The program, which is a collaborative effort with the National Institute of Youth, the Workers' Health and the General Confederation of

Greek Workers (GSSE), began in 1983. Municipalities and communities organize cultural events as part of the itinerary. The first program was initiated during the summer of 1983 and hosted 20,000 youth. The next summer there were 40,000. Winter programs have also been organized (*Spotlight*, December 1, 1984).

Efforts of the New Generation have also worked cooperatively with local government, the Parents Association, pupils, and teachers in setting up schools providing for training in parenthood in which both mothers and fathers have enrolled. Twenty-five schools were already in operation in early 1985. Under the direction of the school psychologist, seminars held twice a week and usually lasting for four months are operating. Three different groups are held for parents of (a) nursery school children (3-6 years old), (b) school age children (6-12 years old), and (c) adolescents (up to 18 years old).

A participatory philosophy is followed, combining information sharing from experts with the pooling of experience and dialogue from parents. Among the topics covered are: the generation gap, psychology of young parents, responsibilities and problems, contemporary problem of the young, and others.

The Ministry of the Prime Minister also governs the mass media, an important part of the delivery system for educating adults.

The Ministry of Culture and Science is responsible for municipal libraries, serving the inhabitants of the districts (Prefectures), as well as the development and diffusion of mobile libraries for those areas not otherwise served. In addition, all museum education is under the direction of this Ministry.

Melina Mercouri, Minister of Culture since 1982, is also attempting to cultivate in the country learning vacations in the form of cruises (Papandreou, G., 1984, October, personal communication). During 1983 when Greece was President of the EEC, Mercouri invited all the Ministers of Culture of the EEC to Greece. A result of that meeting was the creation of a new "institution," the cultural capital of Europe which would rotate throughout EEC countries. The event began with Athens as the cultural capital of the European Community for the half year June-December 1985.

Other cooperative activities with neighboring countries include cultural exchanges for museums with both Egypt and Italy and the permanent return from Italy of marble statues from the Temple of Apollo which Roman Emperor Augustus had taken from Athens to Rome in 31 B.C. (which were uncovered during excavations in 1939).

The Ministry of Culture, in accordance with the governmental framework of decentralization, promoted programs and cultural events throughout the country most of which are free. Moreover, municipalities are now taking the initiative in developing their own programs (*Festivals and Cultural Decentralization, 1983/1984)*..

Now the functions of the Ministry of Culture have been expanded such that an Undersecretary of Culture governs sports and athletics and an Undersecretary of Culture governs three General Secretariats: (a) the New Generation, (b) links with Greeks living abroad, and (c) popular education. This latter function, so central to this book, was transferred to the Ministry of Culture in August 1985 from the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education. As we have seen, historically the first governmental involvement with adult education was manifested in 1929 with Law 4397, establishing night schools for illiterates. By 1943, a special Directorate for Adult Education was established within the Ministry of Education as a result of Law 837. In 1954 Law 3094 – the Law of Literacy – was enacted, whereby a network of Adult Education Centers replete with a governing and advisory structure at local, regional, and national levels was developed. Although activities in the 1950s and 1960s were primarily directed to literacy efforts, recognition was also given to raising the intellectual level and quality of life for all Greek people. During the 1970s Greece became the first country to frame national policy in adult education around the principle of lifelong education as set forth by UNESCO at the Nairobi Conference in November 1976. Nourishing self-directed learning was apparently a core feature of this plan.

As stated in a Ministry of Education document, education is changing from a process imparting knowledge to a process of assisting human beings (Ministry of National Education, 1978, p. 3) "thus the initiative now rests with... [the learner] and education is effected through his own active participation and through dialogue". Kehayiopoulos contributed concerted efforts to educating others that lifelong learning is rooted in Classical Greek ideals, and that a central notion of self-directed learning (that all individuals ultimately are responsible for their own learning) is rooted in the ancient Greek philosophy of self-sufficient and independent personality (otos ontōs).

With the change in government during late 1981 through early 1982, a shift in philosophical and theoretical foundations of the efforts of the Ministry of Education occurred, [as discussed at the end of Chapter 2]. Structurally, the basic framework of Central, Regional, and Local committees to guide countrywide efforts was retained (see Figure 1, p. 45). The Committees (particularly the regional NELE), however, were expanded both in size and power to include representatives of a cross-section of adult learning agents.

Moreover, Popular Education Counselors/Councils (SLE) were introduced into each district or region. This 5–7 member team is responsible for acting in a liaison/advisory capacity between NELE (Regional Committee for Adult/Popular Education) and the people and programs of the Adult Education Centers. In addition to their ancillary function of trouble-shooting, their main responsibilities included the conduct of needs assessment for better programming and the organization of continuing education for adult educators in their respective districts (Demounter, Varnava-Skoura, and Vergidēs, 1984). While SLEs analyze the problems and needs (often involving citizens in participatory type research), KEMEA (Center for Studies and Self-Education) also has played a role in actual programming for the education of adult educators, [as further discussed in Chapter 6].

The formation of KEMEA as an independent non-governmental center [as noted at the end of Chapter 2], can be traced to the late 1970s and the formation of voluntary groups to study social problems in Greece. KEMEA was not incorporated, however, until the early 1980s. The founding and operation of KEMEA [as explained in Chapter 6], represents the first time that an incorporated agency devoted exclusively to a study of philosophy, theory, and research in popular and adult education has existed in Greece.

Like the Office of Popular Education, KEMEA is also concerned with process issues in adult and lifelong learning and with equipping all people (especially the peasants and workers) with a facility for learning from experience and life through active participation and involvement. Another important task is equipping them attitudinally as well as operationally with the ability to "investigate the problems they meet within their own personal lives" (p. 4) and "help each other through collective study and mutual criticism" (p. 3). Social liberation is at the heart of the KEMEA efforts (Centre of Studies and Self-Education, 1984).

Although technically private in nature, the efforts which materialized in the formation of KEMEA were catalyzed by George Papandreou and colleagues. The philosophical and theoretical framework of the group, therefore, seems consistent with governmental platform and policies [as reviewed in Chapter 3]. Consequently, popular sovereignty, social justice, as well as national independence are guiding principles.

The principles and the framework upon which they rest are also reflected in the periodical (*Automorphōsē*) published by KEMEA. The first issue, published in the summer of 1983 dealt primarily with a self-portrait of KEMEA and included articles devoted to explaining the then new legal and policy framework for popular education efforts. Subsequent issues have focused on: adult education and women and highlighted a seminar sponsored by KEMEA on that theme; issues such as literacy, theater, methods, etc.; articles from Greeks abroad regarding popular education activities in their respective countries; synopses of books by Freire and Illich which have been translated into Greek; historical perspectives on educational reform in Greece; and highlights of popular education activities throughout various districts of Greece. An invitation has also been issued to the readers to submit articles about their popular education activities (particularly at district and local levels in Greece). This thrust seemed to represent an effort of the periodical to serve also as a networking and communication medium for those working with adults as learners. As noted earlier, however, the periodical is now defunct. The status of KEMEA is equally difficult to ascertain at this point.

In general, though, current popular/adult education efforts are geared to educating and mobilizing the masses in self-help and participatory modes of learning and refining needs assessment approach to include learners in the planning process. Efforts are being extended, likewise, to avoid duplication of services where possible, and attempts are being made to reach out to (and draw together identity-wise) agents working with adults as learners.

Although, [as noted at the end of Chapter 2], popular education efforts, along with activities of the New Generation, and services for Greeks abroad were transferred to the Ministry of Culture, it is still too early and premature at this writing to determine the permanence or consequences of this decision. Continual efforts are being put forth by the Ministry, however, to better coordinate all adult/popular education thrusts in Greece and, in fact, to become the coordinating agent.

Other Governmental Bodies

Beyond the efforts of each individual Ministry to educate its employees, a school of the President of the Government is offered for all public employees in areas such as foreign language. Also, in addition to the services rendered by the various ministries to the adult learner, other governmental bodies such as the National Welfare Organizations, EOMMEX (Organization for Mid-Size Enterprises) and others, host learning activities for both employees and clients, as well as for the community.

Two banks have contributed particularly vital support to endeavors of adult educators. The Agricultural Bank of Greece which has interfaced with the cooperative movement, [discussed in Chapter 5], and the National Bank of Greece whose Educational Foundation has made a longstanding contribution to educational endeavors in the country. The Foundation has published many original studies and translations of work in the humanities, contributed to the founding and enrichment of the Art Gallery in Thessaloniki, sponsored exhibitions and lectures from the bank's historical archives, organized courses in Greek paleography, and developed an audio-visual presentation and educational program to raise public awareness of Greek cultural achievements. These are just a few examples of its activities for 1984, 1985 and 1986 alone (National Bank of Greece, *Annual Reports*, 1984, 1985, 1986).

The church also has been a longstanding provider of learning for adults in Greece from the early Christian and Byzantine years, both in terms of organized learning activities and in more non-formal and informal ways. In fact, the governance of religious education is part of the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. The full title is the Ministry of National Education and Religion.

Voluntary Semi-governmental and Private Initiatives

It is sometimes difficult to determine the degree to which agents of adult learning in Greece are private in the sense of funding and subsistence. A seemingly private venture such as the Athens Cultural Center, for example, established in 1969, receives some financial support from the government. Consequently, this section should be read as "other" adult learning opportunities either private in nature or voluntary but with semi-governmental involvement.

YWCA and YMCA

Perhaps the best example of this latter configuration is represented by the YMCA and YWCA, (XAN and XEN). For discussion purposes the Greek YWCA (XEN) will be highlighted.

With centers throughout Greece, the XEN (operational in Greece since 1922) offers a variety of learning activities for adults. In addition, since the agency relies heavily on volunteers, XEN provides volunteer education in Athens in the form of leadership seminars and sensitization seminars, the latter of which are aimed at the development and nurturing of a social conscience.

XEN has played an extremely active role in the personal, professional, and social development of Greek women and has been equally involved, along with other groups, in effecting and supporting policy changes with regard to the legal rights of women and family law. [This is discussed further in Chapter 5, in the section on Women and Adult Education.]

League of Volunteers
The League of Volunteers, established during the 1950s, is another prominent organization which trains volunteers. The League is a non-profit group which both supports and promotes volunteer work in Greece. The organization trains and provides volunteers not only with specific skills, but also with an understanding of the needs and problems of Greek society. Moreover, it was instrumental in founding Community Day Centers for the Elderly as well as Cultural and Occupational Centers for Young Children, where parents can also obtain counseling. In fact, a group of volunteers undertook a project during 1983 to develop a network directory of services (*Omilos Ethelontōn*, 1983). Although copyrighted in 1983, it was first published during 1985.

Auxilliary Services
Both libraries and research centers (many with special collections) are available for the continuing learning needs of the independent adult learners. The most common complaint, however, is that such facilities are often closed in the evenings and on weekends. One exception (and there may be others) is a private initiative, the Vaphopoulos Cultural Center in Thessaloniki which was established as a gift of the poet George Vaphopoulos and his wife Anastasia. The building (which has six floors) houses both a library and a community cultural center. Unlike many libraries in Greece which are closed in the evening hours, the Vaphopoulos Center is open each day not only from 7:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., but also has evening hours from 5:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. (Papademetriou, C., 1984, August, personal communication).

Other community efforts include Civic or Neighborhood Centers (Astika Kentra) which serve multiple purposes, offering institutes and courses, as well as providing study rooms in addition to serving as daycare facilities. Numerous special centers for learning handicrafts, pottery, painting and drawing, dance, as well as personal growth centers, abound in Greece, as do international clubs such as the Masons, Rotary, Lions, etc.

With regard to sport and athletics, in addition to the free public gymnasia and the coordinated efforts of the General Secretariats for Athletics and the New Generation, a number of national associations (with affiliations throughout Greece) provide educational activities for specific ventures. A sampling includes: Air sports, badminton, basketball, boating (and other water sports), bowling, boxing, bridge, chess, cricket, fishing, golf, gymnastics, hiking (and mountaineering), hockey, horseback riding, hunting, ice skating, jogging, judo (and karate, tai chi, etc.), racing, roller skating, skiing, soccer, tennis, track and field, volley ball, swimming, water skiing, wind-surfing, weightlifting.

Language Institutes

Educational and cultural centers run by cultural organizations and associations also abound, hosting language courses and other educational activities, for example: Hellenic-American Union, Buddhist Society of Greece, Greek-Canadian Association, Japan-Hellenic Association, Jewish Community Center, Dutch, German, French, and Italian Societies, Greek-Pakistani Association, Greek-Soviet Association, Greek-Swedish Association, and Spanish Cultural Association. Most of them are located in Athens, but many have branches throught Greece.

It is difficult to determine the extensiveness of language training institutes in Greece, although the British Council's English Language and Literature Division in their 1984 and 1986 ***English Teaching Profile for Greece*** noted several thousand privately maintained language institutes (in addition to provisions made by the public sector). Of course, size and quality vary widely and some are here today and gone tomorrow. Private instructors also abound, but some of them would be classified as "unqualified" by language examination standards.

A great variety of languages are offered. English seems to be gaining prominence, particularly among young adults, over French which was historically the preferred second language of the Greek people.

Teachers of English in state-run enterprises must be Greek nationals, but private enterprises are permitted to employ no more than 1/5 of their teachers who are not Greek nationals.

Language teachers may avail themselves of continuing education in a number of ways. The Pan-Hellenic Association of Language School Owners, although primarily involved with commercial concerns of its members, does conduct an annual conference which deals with methods and materials of language teaching.

Due perhaps to the active involvement of the British, more material seems available on the continuing education of teachers of English than of teachers of other languages. The British Council works with the private sector in offering one-semester courses on English Language Teaching Methodology. Moreover, a number of professional associations (many of which are affiliates of international bodies), are available and offer continuing education activities to their members. Two prominent associations are:

1. The Cultural Association of Teachers of English (CATE), a local affiliate of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL). Organized in 1973, it is supported by the British Council. CATE holds regular meetings and publishes the *English Language Teaching Journal*.

2. TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of other Languages) is an international association which also has an organization in Greece: TESOL Greece, which was organized in 1980.

Finally an organization for state teachers of English (PEKADE), was organized about 1982 and publishes a journal titled *Aspects*. It is linked with the Ministry of Education, as well as with the British Council.

Other agencies offer Greek language and cultural activities to those living in Greece year round as well as those from abroad during the summer months. Examples include the Athens Center and the Ionic Center.

1. Athens Center is a non-profit educational center founded in 1969, sponsoring programs of Greek language on a year round basis and offering sessions on Greek culture and language for overseas participants during the summer (including cooperative arrangements with foreign universities).

2. The Ionic Center is an independent non-profit educational organization founded in 1977 and governed by a General Assembly of Trustees and a Board of Directors. The Center is funded by contributions of its members, tuition fees, foundation and state grants and by donations of individuals and organizations. The Ionic Center is both a learning and a research center. In addition to the School of Hellenic Languages, the Center hosts programs of theoretical and applied research and a program of world studies (one-world seminars, problems humankind is facing) where "Academic learning and spiritual activity meet in harmony" (The Ionic Center, 1984).

The Educative Nature of Selected Movements

A movement is generally defined as a conscious, collective attempt to change the social order. The more impactful movements in Greece today, particularly in educational terms, are: the cooperative movement, the women's movement, and the labor movement, [all of which are discussed in Chapter 5 since they target specific client groups], and the peace movement [discussed here due to its pervasive quality].

The Peace Movement and Peace Education

The ground of the Olympic Stadium in Athens where sports events and cultural activities are held displays the peace symbol and spells the Greek word for peace. The reader will recall that from ancient times the initiation of the Pan-Hellenic Games served an important function in unifying and bringing peace and understanding to otherwise disparate city states. So, too, with modern Greece. The Olympic Games are recognized as a vehicle for better international understanding. In today's Greece peace is recognized likewise as an important by-product of cultural exchanges and interchanges (Mercouri, 1985).

The Office of the New Generation in cooperation with UNESCO organized during 1983-84 a celebration attended by delegates of world organizations and peace movements (from 21 countries) for the "dedication of the Isle of Halki as an island of friendship and cooperation for youth the world over". The celebration, however, was also an important educational event hosting a variety of speakers on topics such as safeguarding peace, peace as a way of life, and the character and role of peace movements. UNESCO is contributing financial help to develop the Island of Halki in this regard.

Subsequent to the celebration, an international peace forum was held on the Island of Rhodes. Discussed were both the problems and possibilities of peace as well as the role of youth.

Andreas Papandreou himself has been referred to by some Greek people as being dedicated to the cause of peace, as well as to cooperation among nations. In addition to mediating between French President Mitterand and Libyan leader Gadafy in order to effectuate agreements between the two nations, he has initiated dialogues with many other countries. Moreover, during January 1985 Athens became the "peace capital of the world" for one day at least when world leaders met to follow up on their earlier joint statement on nuclear arms freeze, disarmament, and peace. A joint communique of support for the peace initiative spanning all five continents ended the meeting. Again, during 1986 the leaders of the world met to reaffirm their statement for peace.

Participating countries included Greece, Sweden, Mexico, India, Tanzania, and Argentina. Peace education and the movement toward world peace is also an integral part of the women's movement [discussed in the next chapter].

CHAPTER 5

LEARNERS IN ADULT EDUCATION: CLIENT SYSTEMS, TARGET GROUPS, AND SELF-HELP

This chapter might also have been titled special populations in adult education, since it focuses on selected strata of learners, either self-selected into specific groups by virtue of common interests or targeted by the government or other sources for special consideration. The reader is reminded that Chapters 4 and 5 should be read as complementary parts of a greater whole, particularly since some agents, which did not fit into the framework of Chapter 4, easily conform to this chapter since they serve only that one client group or system.

Included among the chief client systems are:

- Women (as well as the women's movement)
- Families and parents
- Agriculture and extension workers, peasants, and those affiliated with cooperatives (as well as the cooperative movement)
- Employees, managers, unemployed (as well as the labor movement)
- Professionals
- Aged and youth
- Disabled
- Returning emigrants
- Gypsies

All of the above groups are targeted by the Government to varying degrees for development and adult education input, although continuing education of professionals is more often handled by professional associations, private groups, and self-help. The groupings, of course, are not mutually exclusive (e.g. unemployed youth, professional women, etc.).

Illiterates and literacy efforts have formed an important target group of adult education efforts from the birth of modern Greece, but even more concerted attention has been channeled in that direction since the 1954 Law on Illiteracy [as discussed in

Chapter Two]. A host of agents serve this group which spans the range across many special populations enumerated above. Although the overall illiteracy rate currently stands at 8.65%, only 3.59% of males are illiterate compared to 13.35% of females (Bergides & Papakostopoulos, 1984). For this, as well as a variety of other reasons, women's education is receiving increasing attention. Much of this current momentum, however, has resulted from the internal efforts of the women's movement in Greece.

Focus on Women and the Women's Movement

Drivas (1983), a psychoanalyst and philologist with ELKEPA (Greek Productivity Center), has traced and chronicled the plight of Greek women from the early Minoan and Mycaenean years on. Although examples abound of how selected women have made vital contributions to Greek society, and social analysts, scholars, and visionaries (as well as poets and philosophers) have urged recognition and inclusion of the human potential inherent in the *total* population, their voices did not reflect the tenor of society-at-large. (Women, in fact, were not granted the right to vote in general elections until 1952.)

Support for this view surfaced at the 1980 conference of the Modern Greek Studies Association in Washington, D.C.. The theme "Women and Men in Greece: A Society in Transition" encompassed papers published during 1983 (as Volume I of the *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*), demonstrating the plight of women as "prejudiced" by Greek Christianity (Topping, 1983), or the inferiority of class status accorded to women in the Cretan renaissance (1570-1669) (Bancroft-Marcus, 1983) to give just two examples. Kitromilides (1983) indicates that during the Enlightenment some recognition was given to the need to do something about the "intellectual condition of women". Greece at that time was in the midst of the Turkish occupation. As outlined earlier, the start of the Greek War of Independence from Turkey during 1821 brought with it focused efforts in raising the cultural and educational level of the Greek people, and women received special attention in some organized efforts. In 1910 the Greek Women's Educational Cultural Institution, one of the first associations devoted exclusively to the plight of women, was founded. Since then, many organizations devoted to the development of Greek women have been organized (e.g. Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Hellenic Association of University Women, National Council of Greek Women with branches throughout Greece, League for the Rights of Women, and specialty support groups and professional groups such as the

League of Greek Women Scientists and the Dodecanese Association of Women Writers). The most prominent group is the Union of Greek Women (EGE). Current President, Margaret Papandreou (wife of the Prime Minister), is one of twenty-five charter members of a new international women's organization, the World Institute for the Sisterhood of Women founded in 1984. The aim of the organization is to "improve the position of women in all parts of the world". Greece is also a member of the Mediterranean Women's Studies Institute.

Conferences, seminars, and workshops focusing on and held for women are starting to permeate Greek culture from higher education to popular education. During November 1984, the League for Women's Rights invited Consuela Marshall (Presiding Judge of the California District Court) to lecture on "Women's Access to Public Administration" at the Panteios School of Social and Political Science. In December 1984, women's position in public policy was the theme of an international conference held in Athens. Important strides have also been made in networking activities and consequent learning agenda by Business and Professional Women's Club and the Hellenic Association of University Women.

Neither are the non-professional and rural women forgotten. During late 1983, the Directorate of Adult Education of the Ministry of Education in conjunction with KEMEA sponsored a major educational conference in Patras, devoted to women and popular education. Moreover, courses have been introduced – some geared to young people and others to the public – to promote awareness of the need for social equality. Popular education efforts (particularly those purportedly attracting predominantly women – sewing, typing, etc.) have added a social educational dimension, so that as an implicit part of the learning activity the group also addresses personal and social problems.

Moreover, regional training seminars for women instructors have been organized, in addition to local seminars on the affairs of women and self-education groups held in various parts of the country as think-tanks for the women's movement (*National Report*, 1985, p. 21). The Manpower Employment Agency (OAED) has implemented a program of vocational guidance for women (p. 23). Finally, with the assistance of financing from the European Social Fund, training courses for rural women have been provided (p. 28).

Much of this momentum has been generated and sustained by the Council for the Equality of the Sexes [discussed in Chapter 4]. In addition to the founding of the Council, the present government program includes (Hellenic Council for Equality, 1985):

1. **Social mechanism** to promote and operationalize equality (formation of both, the Council Prefecture Equality Committees and the Prefecture Equality Bureau, as a Clearinghouse for information and legal issues).
2. **Statutory changes** affecting both men and women, such as the abolition of the "women only" stipulation for admission to Schools of Education and the teaching of domestic science to boys as well as girls. Also, both parents are entitled to parental leave. [The sweeping family law reforms have been discussed in Chapter 4.]
3. **Social services and benefits** operationalizing the laws include: Family planning programs, women's protection centers (for violence in the family), and day care centers.
4. **Positive action** including equal employment opportunity and other measures to make women economically independent.
5. **A program to overcome prejudice** specifically targeted to training and education endeavors.

Greece has also actively participated in the United Nations Decade for Women (1976–1985), including attendance at and contribution to international women's conferences. Papers were presented at both the 1980 conference in Copenhagen to mark the mid-point of the decade as well as at the final conference in Nairobi, Kenya during July 1985. As indicated in the *National Report of Hellas (Greece)* (1985, p. 7) to the world conference in Nairobi "women of Hellas, united with all the women of the world as a strong and international social force, are determined to continue their struggle for social liberation and WORLD PEACE".

Among the educational goals for the coming decade (1985–1995) are the following:

- Eradication of illiteracy
- Establishment of women's studies at universities
- Education and training for equality aimed at teachers and the public at large
- In-service learning activities in family planning and counseling for medical and hospital staff
- More local organization and administration of education seminars for women concerning both social and occupational arenas
- Mass campaigns to change the image of women in general as put across by the mass media and more specifically change the attitudes of society toward elderly women.
- More research

Family and Parent Education

Many of the accomplishments and aims of the women's movement impinge also upon both family and parent education. A major guiding and operating premise is that of equality of the sexes, with family and parent education being a domain of both men and women. As noted previously, Family Planning Centers have been established throughout all districts of Greece and pre-school and day-care centers were combined in many areas to form Children's Centers. Infant day-care centers and infant sectors within existing day-care facilities have also been provided. In addition, industry and other firms with more than 300 employees must provide day-care facilities to meet the needs of working parents. State organized parent education programs are available, as are activities of private groups such as for parents of mentally retarded children, and of parent associations.

Family life in Greece has traditionally included care for the elderly. With the advent of dual career couples, however, and other social changes, day-care centers for the elderly have been organized in communities throughout Greece and maintained, [as noted in Chapter 4], by the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

Agricultural Population

Given that a high percentage of the population is and has been engaged in agricultural work, agricultural workers have for decades been a targeted client population in Greece. In statutory terms, the Ministry of Agriculture was delegated responsibility for agricultural education in the 1950s, [as highlighted and discussed in Chapters 2 and 4].

Agricultural education exerts a definite presence in Greece as part of both formal and non-formal educational efforts. Within the formal system, elementary and secondary levels (junior farm schools) as well as vocational/technical and higher education (university level) offer preparatory as well as in-service learning programs and activities. Residential centers for continuing education of adults also exist.

Non-formal agricultural education also abounds. Agricultural extension activities, for example, were introduced after World War II (PASEGES, 1978, p. 27). In addition to the vital role provided by rural home economists and agricultural technicians/agents who often work on an individual basis with farmers, Centers for Agricultural Professional Development (KEGEs) are located in each district [as already reviewed in earlier chapters]. Technical assistance education is also provided by the Agricultural Bank of

Greece, the Hellenic Cotton Board, the Hellenic Currant Board, and the National Tobacco Council. Most of the non-formal activities are of a short-term nature lasting anywhere from a few days to a few months.

A special case-in-point is the Thessaloniki Agricultural and Industrial Institute (The "American Farm School") whose ample conference complex and facilities host short courses organized by a variety of agents including the Ministries of Agriculture and Education and other agricultural institutes and agencies (Stambolides, 1984). The "American Farm School" itself also operated organized programs for farmers. The range of the school's services include: merely offering conference space and facilities, providing assistance in designing courses, specific technical assistance, and hosting special visits from vocational-technical schools or independent farmers interested in observing and studing the program – especially the poultry raising and dairy farming areas.

The individual farmer is not the only focus of agricultural education efforts. Special learning activities are also organized for those involved with the agricultural infrastructure from the continuing educators and those working directly with the farmer (e.g. rural home economist, agricultural extension agent, etc.) to KEGE directors and the Board of Directors for Agricultural Cooperatives.

Cooperatives in modern Greece have been functioning since the turn of this century; the historic Ampelakia [discussed in Chapter 2] dates as far back as the seventeenth century. The present Five Year Plan for Social and Economic Development [highlighted in Chapter 3] calls for the "widening and strengthening of the cooperative movement".

The formation of cooperatives in Greece was designed to assist individual development as well as national development. Interestingly, the development of cooperatives becomes inextricably intertwined with the development of individual farmers (on the micro side) and the national development (on the macro side) (Boucouvalas, 1985). Bowman (1984) explains that "national development entails the involvement of rising proportions of the population in changing ways of producing and living" and laments that "few investigations have focused on the broad theme" (p. 1301).

Cooperatives, by definition, are enterprises that are collectively owned and operated for mutual benefit, which in agricultural Greece covers production, processing, and marketing of goods (and other economic benefits), and services (such as credit, use of machinery, etc.). Educational efforts form an integral part of the cooperatives.

In Greece "cooperatives are self-governing bodies ...[yet] are protected and supervised by the State, which is under the obligation to foster their development" (PASEGES, 1978, p. 13). In fact, both the Ministry of Agriculture and the Agricultural Bank of Greece provide partial funds for educational activities of the cooperatives, in addition to finances received from member contributions. A critically important accomplishment in Greece, however, is that now cooperatives themselves are recognized as the ***only body competent to supervise and design cooperative education.*** In other words, neither the Ministry of Agriculture nor the Agricultural Bank of Greece – nor any other unsolicited body for that matter – can intervene. For Mavrogiannis (1982) this point is critical. Responsibility for educational pursuits is separated from responsibility for regulatory functions such as inspecting and registering cooperatives; this represents the converse of the situation during the military dictatorship of the country (1967-1974) when State officials purportedly used the "cooperative message as a tool for disseminating military propaganda" (p. 606).

Current Organization and Structure

It is critical to understand that the cooperative movement represents one of the most important economic as well as social and educational institutions (in the sociological sense of the word) in rural Greece. Effort is placed on developing an attitude and spirit of development – individual and national – as well as on an understanding of cooperation and its benefits and its "how to"s. In fact, such education and training efforts have also been designed with an eye to enlivening the whole movement – recognizing that education benefits not only the individual but also the development of the country – and is consistent with Bowman's (1984, p. 1301) concept of development as "the involvement of rising proportions of the population in changing ways of producing and living". As noted by Mavrogiannis (1982, pp. 611-612) "to modify the peasant farmer's very way of thinking...cooperative education and training programmes [have been] worked out and widely applied with a view to rejuvenating the entire movement". These efforts refer mainly to the work carried out at what is called the first degree level of village cooperatives.

A thorough understanding of the structure undergirding present day efforts, however, is important since it may represent an interesting model which other countries might wish to examine. The farmers cooperative organizations have a "pyramidal structure" (Le mouvement, 1978, PASEGES, 1977, 1978, 1984). The economic and service activities, as well as the aim of education and training, differ at each level.

Briefly, the village cooperatives, known as *first degree* organizations form the base. Their economic and service functions consist mainly of processing and/or marketing a product, supplying credit and sometimes other functions such as operating small processing plants, etc. Educational and training activities at this level focus primarily on the value of being a member of a cooperative. As stressed by Gambroulis (1984), improvement of the peasant way of life, as well as the development of the country, is emphasized to non-members as well as members.

For wider economic capacity and geographical coverage, Agricultural Cooperative Unions, or *second degree* organizations were formed. Educational activities at this level involve a deeper analysis of the problems of cooperation. In economic and service spheres they provide support to the operation of the village cooperatives and provide a base for the *third degree* organizations – the Central Unions. In effect, the Central Unions coordinate cooperative activity over the whole country. Continuing education of personnel involved at this level covers administrative concerns, as well as an understanding of national dynamics.

At the "apex" of the pyramid is the Pan-Hellenic Confederation of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives (PASEGES). Founded in 1935 as a non-profit organization, it functions as the professional representative of the entire cooperative movement in Greece and is fully recognized by the State and all parties in the country. It officially acts as an advocate, internally handling relations with other governmental bodies, and abroad functioning as a national representative and liaison party. In fact, PASEGES, a member of a number of international groups (e.g. International Cooperative Alliance, International Center of Research of Information on Public and Cooperatives all over the world), sends Greeks to annual meetings and also for intensive visits to various selected countries. In addition, PASEGES lobbies the European Common Community for needs and money (Greece became a full member in 1981).

Moreover, PASEGES has a good size Education Division, which coordinates and supervises *all* educational and training activities related to the cooperative movement. In fact, the very existence of PASEGES is an educative venture – and is deeply involved in educating others inside the country as well as abroad as to the depth, breadth, scope, value, and accomplishments of the cooperative movement in Greece. Moreover, it provides an organized system for educating members and personnel at all levels of the cooperative system.

As far back as 1965, the Cooperative College of Thessaloniki was established to train supervisory and management level staff. Educational opportunities for others, however, is a more recent venture engaged in particularly since 1981. Since then the whole nature of the Cooperative College was changed to reflect a better blend of theory and practice. In addition, four regional centers were set up: Iraklion (Crete), Patras, Athens, and Thessaloniki.

Two activities, however, seem particularly noteworthy to the life of the movement: (a) development of representatives in each region to educate others and act as an inspirer/motivator, and (b) work with schools in developing school cooperatives for younger children and at the same time educating school personnel.

The cooperative movement in Greece seems to have made an impact, although more research will be needed to determine the nature and extent of the impact. According to Kamenidis (1981), although productivity has increased it is still low by European standards, a situation which he attributed largely to a poorly organized and inefficient marketing system. It is clear from the author's research into the cooperative movement that activities have greatly expanded in quantity as well as quality since 1981 (the year of the Kamenidis article) and the marketing system is receiving focused attention; however, more research is needed to determine the impact on Greece's overall development.

The recent innovation of agro-tourist cooperatives run totally by women farmers and the women's movement was discussed earlier. Also, as noted earlier, the first of these farming-restaurant-tourist accommodation facilities started at Mytilini (Lesvos). Others followed in historic Ampelakia and on the Island of Chios. These efforts also reflect and contribute to catalyzing the self-sufficient employment and deployment of women farmers, just as the efforts of the Manpower Employment Agency (OAED) in cooperation with the Council for the Equality of the Sexes have trained women as bus drivers and as other non-traditional professions.

Employees, Managers, Unemployed and the Labor Movement

Training and development activities for employees are growing in Greece; however, the more comprehensive notion of human resource development to include organizational as well as employee development is not yet widespread in Greece. Management development also is in early incipient stages of development.

The bulk of activity may be found in learning organized for new employee orientation as well as in staff development. For example, the Ministry of Labor has recently catalogued in a one year period 323 separate requests for funding to the EEC (European Economic Community) for support of training and development programs. A cross-section variety of providers have applied for funds (e.g. gas and electric companies, shipyards, export companies, post office, textile companies, chemical companies, associations for the blind, and others). In the formal sector, as we have seen, in-service education for teachers is orchestrated primarily by KEME (Center for Research, Planning and In-service Education), while a whole host of vocational-technical organizations and efforts contribute to the training and development of employees. Apprenticeships are also still common, as well as mentoring activities. In accord with the ancient Greek maxim "sound mind in a sound body," exercise and attention to physical development also is evidenced; in fact, some companies provide shower facilities for their employees.

Since so many enterprises in Greece have developed under family rule, management education is in early stages of development. The landmark organization of the Management Institute by ELKEPA (The Greek Productivity Center) is a first for Greece, particularly since the Board of Directors represents private as well as public enterprises.

During the first phase, the Marrousi building was dedicated (financed by the Greek government and social funds of the European Economic Community). Organizational members of the Institute pay dues which afford benefits such as participation in seminars (TV studio is available for role plays and an EDP section exists) and use of the library which is continually developing. In addition to the availability of seminars for the further development of managers, activities of the Institute also include graduate education for working professionals. Individuals with at least five years experience are eligible and may keep their jobs while working part-time on the degree. In addition, many of the courses and learning activities will be offered in the work place. Both an MBA and a M.Sc. in Management Practice (Action Learning) have been designed. The conduct of studies and research in management is also an integral part of Institute activities.

Unemployment is currently of concern in Greece, especially among the youth but certainly not restricted to them. Training and counseling of the unemployed is handled primarily by OAED, the Greek Manpower Employment Agency, as discussed earlier.

The labor movement has been particularly active in formal and informal ways with regard to education of all laborers — employed and unemployed. In fact, in 1982 KEMETE, the Training and Documentation Center was organized and by 1983 a School for Worker Education was established in Piraeus.

Continuing Education of Professionals

Continuing education of other professionals, [as noted in Chapter 4], is primarily the domain of professional associations and the self-initiated efforts of the professionals themselves. For example, physicians, lawyers, engineers, mathematicians, chemists, musicians, writers, and others have professional associations which publish periodicals and organize conferences, symposia, courses and the like. International educational meetings are also sponsored in Greece to help Greek professionals of the respective organization keep abreast of advances in other countries and to catalyze networking efforts among the professionals.

Other Target Groups

As discussed in various sections of this book both the youth and the aged have received specific attention, particularly with regard to the establishment of centers throughout the country seeing to both basic and educative needs. Other recently targeted client groups include efforts directed to assessing and addressing the unique educational needs of gypsies, returning emigrants, and the disabled.

Most of the efforts directed toward the gypsies are in incipient stages of development. Bibliographies and tapes are being developed for educational purposes specifically tailored to their needs and depicting stories relevant to their way of life (*Programma epimorphōsēs tsigganōn*, 1985).

The main emphasis of educational efforts for returning expatriots is addressed to occupational and professional training and development for adults, and language education or refresher for both adults and their children.

In concert with the top attention to developing human resources, stressed in the Five Year Plan [see Chapter 3], the disabled are likewise recognized and respected as potentially important contributing members to society. Coudroglou (1984), in her review and intensive study of public policies and programs for the disabled in Greece emphasizes that despite long-standing income allowances/cash benefits and health care provisions, the disabled have not only been allowed but encouraged to seek employment. She cites particularly the developmental programs which have been available for decades to the blind and deaf.

Perhaps the chief agent offering the most comprehensive current program in Greece is the National Insitute for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled (EIAA). Funded by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Labor, the Institute which caters to adults – or at least those over 15 years old with no serious mental retardation – works in collaboration with OAED, the Manpower Development Agency [discussed in Chapter 4] in vocational training and job placement. A separate office in OAED, established in 1982, deals specifically with rehabilitation of disabled persons. All these efforts are supported likewise by the fairly recent emphasis in Greek society on incentives to employers for hiring the disabled, as briefly noted previously.

Recapitulation

The development of human resources, then, either for their own sake or for their potential contribution to society-at-large spans many strata of learners in Greece. Whether targeted for special consideration by external learning agents or self-selected into groups by virtue of common interest, or a combination of both, many are tied together – knowingly or unknowingly – by a common concern with adults as learning growing creatures. Where are the professional adult educators in this process? The practice of adult education is performed by a variety of agents and adults as their own agents of learning, as discussed in the various chapters so far. What, however, is the status of adult education as a field of study in Greece? It is to this question that the next chapter is addressed.

CHAPTER 6

ADULT EDUCATION AS A FIELD OF STUDY: EDUCATION AND RESEARCH

Education of Adult Educators

Efforts to professionally prepare educators of adults are nonexistent at the university level in Greece [as noted in Chapter 4]. Greek universities are devoid of programs leading to a degree in the specialty of the education of adults. Consequently, adult educators, (whether learning specialists, administrators, program developers, or others), are either educated outside of the country or afforded in-service opportunities discussed below, to assist them in their task of working with adults as learners and adult education as a program, process, or movement. Historically, adult education leaders have been sent abroad for conferences, short courses, observation, or more formal study. Petros Kehayiopoulos, while serving as National Director of Adult Education from 1967 to 1981 studied in England for a graduate degree in adult education, but he had already earned both an undergraduate and graduate degree from the Greek university system in another specialty area (political science and law).

To the writer's knowledge, few others in Greece possess a degree in adult education or adult learning. A number of professional adult educators, however, have been trained in sociology, an important background for understanding the role adult education might play in social transformation or change. Others, particularly those newly hired as counselors of adult education, who have lived abroad have either studied or worked in the field of adult education in other countries. The opportunity to study adult education in a Greek university seems unlikely for the short-range future, at least not until adult education becomes recognized and established as a unified movement and consequently as a viable field of both study and practice.

As early as the 1950s when adult education became both legislatively and operationally recognized at the governmental level, attention was directed to informing and educating those working with the adult education movement. For example, a 1956 publication by the then Office of Adult Education reviewed the progress in combatting illiteracy since the 1954 Law of Illiteracy was enacted. The book also reviewed efforts in neighboring countries and afforded information as to the international bodies (e.g. UNESCO, FAO, etc.) which were available for technical assistance to Greece (O Agōn, 1956). This publication and others resulted from seminars held periodically throughout the country for continuing education of professionals working in adult education. Through such publications, those who could not attend nevertheless had the opportunity to benefit from the seminars.

During the 1950s and 1960s when UNESCO consultants Grau and Fourre and in the 1970s Townsend-Coles, were sent to Greece, attention began to be directed at methods of and approaches to adult education, but unfortunately it is difficult to determine how much and to what extent their advice was operationalized.

Fourre (1967, p. 9) who worked for more than four years in Greece was impressed with what he observed in the Greek people as an "evident desire to learn, that intellectual curiosity, so difficult to create and without which our work soon becomes impossible". He also remarked that those working as teachers in the adult education system at that time had "an understanding of the part they can and must play in the country's development, a professional conscience and a devotion to the cause". "The rest is...simple," he remarked, "It is only a matter of acquiring the techniques". The essence of the publication which was the result of his work (Fourre, 1967), was planned from techniques employed successfully in the best adult education centers in Greece and from the experience of other countries. It was dedicated to current and future adult education in the country.

Efforts have continued to evolve and expand over the years in directing attention to the education of adult educators. Most efforts have involved specially designed workshops, seminars, and conferences in Greece, complemented by attendance at large external conferences such as the World Conference of the International Council of Adult Education by selected representatives. More recently, Ministry of Culture efforts have been directed to exploring and targeting scholarships to send adult educators abroad for graduate study.

Since 1982 KEMEA, discussed earlier, has also contributed to the training and education of colleagues working in popular and adult education efforts throughout Greece. Moreover, since the summer of 1983 (and until 1986) KEMEA published *Automorphōsē* (literally: self-education), the first periodical ever published in Greece devoted to the theory and practice of popular and adult education. This publication served as an important educational tool for professionals country-wide. The philosophy of the periodical as well as of KEMEA were founded on the concept of self-education, a literal translation from the Greek which in effect is akin in international terms to voluntary participatory involvement of an individual in any learning activity, complemented with the notion of the importance of developing into lifelong self-directing learners.

A Freirian framework has been adopted and, in fact, KEMEA now has the copyright for the Greek translation of Freire's works. Several of Freire's books have been translated into Greek over the past few years and are used in seminars and training/education activities for adult educators.

Although Ministerial efforts are being made to draw together representatives from ELKEPA, Ministry of Labor, PASEGES, and other governmental bodies in seminars and conferences, efforts at training/education of those working with adults as learners are still fragmented and perhaps they need to be separated among the various agents of learning. For example, PASEGES has had a well-developed training of trainers program, operational for a number of years now, an endeavor which other agents are just now beginning to mount. Perhaps by continual interchange and contact with each other at seminars, individuals representing different agents of learning within Greek society might learn from each other and start to avoid duplication of efforts. In fact, coordination of training and education was cited as a primary goal for popular education efforts throughout the country at the first international seminar of Greek-Speaking Adult Educators held on the Island of Syros, Greece during the summer of 1984.

Research in Adult Education

Research in Greece is generally conducted by either university faculty members or non-university research centers. Financing is provided by the State for the most part. The National Research Foundation also provides funding (Batrinos, 1982).

However, due to the absence of degree programs and the consequent lack of recognition and understanding of adult education as a field of study and research, as well as of practice, Greece is deprived of a major source of investigative studies — the research conducted at universities by institutes or centers affiliated with the program, by adult education professors, and by students working on theses and dissertations.

Individual researchers who have explored areas related to adult education include: Markantonis (n.d.) on the establishment of a lifelong learning center within Greece, and Demetriou and other colleagues at the University of Thessaloniki on adult cognition (Demetriou, 1985; Demetriou & Efklides, 1985).

Centers which engage in a modicum of research contiguous to adult education interests include KEME (Center for Educational Research and Planning for In-Service Education of Teachers), recently renamed PI (Pedagogical Institute); EKKE (National Center of Social Research); KEPE (Center for Planning and Economic Research); and IMEO (Institute for the Study of the Greek Economy) with their studies on worker self-management; and, of course, KEMEA (Center for Studies and Self-Education). The various Ministries, particularly the Ministries of Culture and Education, often engage in evaluation-research endeavors. A viable area for further pursuit is the nature and scope, the depth and the breadth of research efforts related to adult education in Greece.

As Eliou explains, however, general lack of research substructure and tradition in Greek universities have retarded progress. She urges that the question of research, both in universities and research centers, ought to be regarded as a national priority.

CHAPTER 7

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

Since Antiquity the Greeks have been active in interchanging ideas, thoughts, knowledge, skills, and culture with people of other nations. Whether extending efforts to learn from others or to educate them, education has transcended geographical, historical, political, and other boundaries. In the world of education and learning Greece has not stayed isolated.

Historical Highlights

Historically speaking, the Olympic and Pan–Hellenic Games were among the earliest conscious attempts to effect national as well as international understanding. Based on such international contacts, their role in peace education was heralded. By the time of the Classical period and likewise during certain time periods in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine eras, Athens, Alexandria, and a variety of other cities became international centers for learning, often attracting others from distances. Greek influence, likewise, extended beyond these geographical centers as, for example, when the soldiers of Alexander the Great became "teachers of the world".

By the time of the decline and final demise of the Byzantine Empire, however, emigration westward became prominent. For example, the scholar Chrysoloras took a position at the University of Florence. As the Turks pressed onward many scholars fled west taking manuscripts and libraries with them.

The Greeks have been a mobile people, emigrating since about the eighth century up to the present. Some stay and make a home abroad as evidenced by a high concentration of generations of Greeks in Australia, the U.S.A., the U.K., and Germany, to mention a few. A recurring theme throughout Greek history is the manner in which many expatriots retain their Greek identity over generations, often considering themselves part of the greater Hellenic diaspora, and sometimes contributing back to the motherland in a variety of ways, a theme which will be illustrated as the discussion progresses.

This phenomenon of contributing to the motherland seems to have begun most noticeably during the Turkish occupation. Times were particularly bleak after complete subjugation to the Turks during 1453, but by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries educational activities arose again. Many Greek people living abroad (but who retained their ethnic identity) had made provisions in their wills to help their homeland educationally.

Support from emigrated Greeks also came in other forms. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, as trade and commerce grew, a growing middle class also arose, some of whom moved away to form Greek commercial companies overseas. As a result of their international contacts and exposures, a growing consciousness arose as to the oppression of the Greeks in the motherland. Together with the growing consciousness of the Phanariots (see footnote 6) they contributed to educating the Greek people about their oppression thus planting the seeds of revolt. Greek scholars who had fled to Western Europe in previous years became equally concerned with the Greek plight, and attracted the attention of Philhellenes, particulary those from Great Britain still influenced by the renaissance and the glories of ancient Greece. Again, one finds the influence of nationalistic ties – Greeks who had moved abroad and yet still strongly retained their Greek identity.

As the analysis of Theocharides (1971) [discussed in an earlier chapter] suggested, many expatriot Greeks also played a major role in the influence of the French Enlightenment on the subsequent Greek Enlightenment. The latter movement again contributed to educating the Greek -people about their national roots and their oppression, ultimately resulting in the Greek War of Independence against Turkish rule.

It seems, then, that international contacts and support played an important role in the eventual attainment of Greek freedom and formation of a new Greek state, particularly when one contrasts that with the seventeenth century abortive cultural revival under Church leadership. The attempt failed in large part [as discussed in an earlier chapter], because the Greeks thought they could elevate themselves with their own powers, without association with the West.

The formation of new free state of Greece likewise evidenced international influence. Particularly in the educational domain, the 1834 legislation on primary education was a direct translation of the French Law of 1833, and the 1837 Law establishing a university in Athens followed the German pattern.

International influence was also apparent in the formation of archaeological learned societies during the nineteenth century. The

French, German, Austrian, and Italian associations made their presence in Greece, [as discussed in Chapter 2]. International influence is evident in agricultural education as well. For example, the American Farm School, founded by American missionary Dr. John Henry House in 1904, still to this day is active in adult education matters. Influence of the U.S.A. was also apparent in the founding of the Graeco-American Cultural Institute in 1945.

The nationwide campaign to combat illiteracy during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s likewise witnessed much international contact, and influence from UNESCO as well as OECD consultants. UNESCO in fact, as discussed at length in an earlier chapter, sent long-term "live-in" consultants from Austria, France, and Great Britain. As part of the UNESCO-sponsored feat, four Greek natives made study visits to different countries to learn from adult education efforts there: Scotland, England, Denmark, and France.

Later, during 1982, UNESCO financed a project on vocational and technical education, which sent several faculty from higher and technical education establishments abroad to learn from the successful efforts of other countries to improve the Greek system.

During the 1970s and 1980s international influence and contacts have focused also on attempts to bring others to Greece to learn. Examples include language training institutes, travel and study tours, etc. By the time of the 1976-77 educational reforms, Greece seemed once again to be establishing itself as a learning center not only for Greeks, but for others as well. For example, during 1977 the European Economic Community recognized the Center of International and European Law in Thessaloniki as the European Documentation Center.

Even in the realm of education for adult educators, Greeks have been sent, or on their own initiative have gone abroad for graduate degrees in the field. For example, Petros Kehayiopoulos, National Director of Adult Education for several decades (until 1982) received his graduate degree in adult education from England (University of Manchester). More recently, others who have both resided and studied abroad in areas contiguous to adult education (e.g. sociology) are returning to Greece to work within the adult education movement. In a similar vein, returning emigrants who initially left for economic or political reasons are repopulating the Greek nation. As noted in an earlier chapter, major governmental provisions are focused on programs directed both to the emigrants as well as their children, the latter particularly in bilingualism – especially to learn/relearn their native tongue of Greek. In fact, international contacts in present day Greece with regard to matters related to adult learning abound, as documented the next section.

Current Highlights

Today Greece is a member of many international bodies. The data gathered for the 1986–87 edition of the *Yearbook of International Organizations* (Geographical volume) offer some sense of Greece's current international involvement as far as membership in international associations and organizations is involved. The types of organizations, as catalogued by the *Yearbook*, are listed in Table 1 along with the number of entries appearing within each categorization for Greece (derived merely by counting the entries listed within each category). The reader interested in comparative data is encouraged to count the number of entries listed under each category for other country or countries of choice.

Table 1

Number of International Organizations and Associations (by Seven Categories) in Which Greece or Greek Professionals Maintain Membership

Grouping (Type of Organization)	Number of Organizations & Associations
Federations of International Organizations	28
Universal Membership Organizations	360
Inter-Continental Membership Organizations	295
Regional Membership Organizations	474
Semi-Autonomous Bodies	145
Organizations of Special Form	135
Religious Orders and Fraternities	15
TOTAL	1,452

The category of Federations of International Organizations refers to umbrella-type organizations. Included are all international organizations (governmental or non-governmental) which group together at least three other autonomous bodies. As noted in the *Yearbook*, the United Nations is included in this category because of its focal role in relation to the Specialized Agencies which are members of the U.N. system. In addition to membership in the U.N., other examples of the twenty-eight organizations in this category of which Greece is a member are International Cooperative Alliance; International Confederation of the Free Trade Unions; World Confederation of Labor; World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession; and World Federation for Mental Health.

The category of Universal Membership Organizations includes all non-profit international organizations (governmental or non-governmental) which have widespread geographically balanced membership, management, and policy control. Among criteria for inclusion are: organizations which have members in a minimum of 60 countries or a minimum of 30 countries provided that the membership distribution across continental regions is balanced (i.e. countries in one or two continents do not predominate). Excluded are organizations whose titles indicate restriction of membership to a specific group of countries or ethnic groups. Also excluded are organizations whose meetings only take place on one continent or are managed by individuals from a limited range of countries. UNESCO, of which Greece is a member, is included in this category. As indicated in Table 1, Greece or Greek professionals maintain memberships in 360 organizations in this category. Examples (related in some way to adult education) include the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations; Institute of Management Science; International Alliance of Women; International Association for Educational and Vocational Guidance; International Association for Community Development; International Association of Educators for World Peace; International Association of Physical Education and Sports for Girls and Women; International Association of Y's Men's Clubs; International Congresses and Convention Association; International Center of Social Gerontology; International Council for Distance Education; International Council for Education for Teaching; International Federation of University Women; International Labor Organization; International Peace Academy; International Planned Parenthood Federation; World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA); Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA); and others.

The category of Intercontinental Membership Organizations includes all non-profit organizations (governmental or non-governmental) whose membership and preoccupations exceed that of a particular continental region, but not enough to justify inclusion under Universal Membership Organizations. Excluded are organizations with members in less than 10 countries, those whose title mentions a single continental region or contiguous group of countries (e.g. Mediterranean), and evidence that meetings take place on one continent only. Examples of the 295 organizations in which Greece is a member (and which relate to adult education in some form) include: General Federation of Women's Clubs; International Association for Physical Education in Higher Education; International Association for the Economics of Self-Management; International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL) and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Language (TESOL); and others.

The category of Regionally Defined Membership Organizations, includes all international non-profit organizations (governmental or non-governmental) whose membership or preoccupations are restricted to a particular continental or subcontinental region. Members must be located in at least three countries or three member organizations must be apparent in the case of regional federations. Regardless of the number of countries represented, an organization is excluded if the title indicates a continental region (e.g. Mediterranean). The European Bureau of Adult Education, of which Greece is a member, is included within this group, as is the Council of Europe and the European Economic Community (EEC). Greece was admitted as a full member of EEC during 1981. Other examples of the 474 organizations in which Greece is a member (and which relate to adult education in some form) include: Association for Voluntary Action in Europe; Comparative Education Society in Europe; European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes; European Association for Teachers; European Federation for Intercultural Learning; European Federation of Conference Towns; European Leisure and Recreation Association; European Women's Centre for Studies in a Changing Society; European YWCA's; League of European Research Libraries; and others.

The category of Semi-Autonomous Bodies includes organizations which, although serving a specific function, may be attached to a larger body. Examples of these 145 organizations of which Greece is a member include: the Business and Industry Advisory Committee to OECD; OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation; FAO Regional Office for Europe; and others.

Organizations of Special Form include, for example, the AFS International Intercultural Programs; Associated Schools Projects in Education for International Cooperation and Peace; European

Training and Development Centre for Farming; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank); Kiwanis International; Lions Clubs International; Network for Cooperation in Research and Development for Educational Innovation in South-East Europe; Women's Global Network on Reproductive Rights; and others among the 135 organizations in which Greeks maintain membership. One can see the variety of forms including networks which serve educative functions for their members.

Finally, Religious Orders and Fraternities are few in number in Greece (only 15). It is difficult to determine their educative nature. Among those listed are included: Ananda Marga Yoga Society; Bendictine Confederation; and International Association of Charities of St. Vincent de Paul.

What all of the above categories and organizations have in common, of course, is their international character. They afford a flavor of the degree to which Greece is internationally involved and the international contacts the country has collectively developed at least in organizational terms.

Of course, another important membership is in the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), of which Greece became a member in October 1985. Greece continually sends individuals abroad for adult education-related meetings – whether of the ICAE itself, the International Cooperative Alliance, or the involvement in the 1985 Nairobi conference celebrating the culmination of the U.N. Decade for Women. In fact, the women's movement has been most active in reaching out for international contacts. Note that the country was one of 25 founding members of the World Institute for the Sisterhood of Women (founded in 1984).

Peace education is another international venture, as evidenced by Greek initiative in the five continent peace proposal [discussed in Chapter 4]. Also discussed previously was UNESCO's input in the international educational celebration dedicating the Island of Halki to friendship and cooperation of youth all over the world. As in ancient times, peace is still recognized in Greece as an important product of cultural interchanges and exchanges.

In addition to Greeks going abroad, many meetings are occurring in and attracting international participation to Greece. Some deal with specific topics such as the worldwide plight of women administrators discussed in Athens during December 1984, or the more recent international conference on continuing medical education held during February 1987.

From the standpoint of the profession and practice of adult education, perhaps one of the most meaningful events was the International Conference of Greek-Speaking Adult Educators held on the Island of Syros during the summer of 1984. Many countries were represented; participants included second and third generation Greeks living abroad as well as those who had been born in Greece but have since moved elsewhere. The conference was equally significant in that it represented an effort to bring together a great variety of adult learning agents, even those who may not have previously considered themselves adult educators but who indeed are working with adults as learners.

As a sequel to this conference, three Greek Government officials (adult educators) made a U.S.A. tour of universities and other adult education enterprises during October 1984. The author organized a round table of key adult educators in the Washington, D.C. area as well as discussions with the executive director of the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education (AAACE). Trips of inquiry have likewise been made to places such as Australia, Sweden, and France. Most recently, two popular education officials made presentations at the 1987 Conference of AAACE in Washington, D.C.[10]

As is evident, intense efforts are being made to understand the adult education enterprise and the profession and practice of adult education worldwide. More concerted efforts seem to be made to distill out the aspects which might be applicable to Greece. Although individual consultants are still recruited from abroad for areas such as management development (particularly the efforts of ELKEPA in the area), international contacts are reaching to the grass roots movement both from an action perspective, as well as in the translations of prominent writings in this realm from other countries. Action-wise, this reach manifests itself in the recruitment of those having lived and studied abroad (in adult education related fields) to relocate – i.e. to live *and* work in Greece as an integral part of the grass roots level efforts. Publication-wise, perhaps some of the most influential writings on adult education efforts in present day Greece, at least within the popular education spectrum, have been those of Paulo Freire. KEMEA (the Center for Studies and Self-education), as mentioned earlier, holds the copyright for the Greek translation of Freire's books, many of which have already been translated and act as discussion pieces and catalysts for both popular education efforts and for training of popular educators. It is difficult to determine to what extent other agents of adult education use these publications or works from other countries.

Many agents of adult learning are busy with their own agendas and international networking systems, and some are hardly aware of the working efforts of colleagues in Greece engaged within different contexts. For example, Demetriou and Efklides (Demetriou, 1985; Demetriou & Efklides, 1985) in the Psychology Laboratory at the Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, have been making contributions to the emerging worldwide literature on adult cognition. They have published in international journals and made presentations at international meetings. Their efforts have not been studied, however, for potential usefulness to the adult education movement in Greece. Perhaps this is an example of the larger theory–practice gulf which is all too common in many, if not most, countries.

It seems that in general, a possible effort at developing an adult education identity among colleagues, working within disparate contexts but within, the common domain of the adult learner, might serve as a future goal for further catalyzing the adult education movement within the country. Work has already begun in this direction. More specifically, future efforts might attempt to interface the practitioner and the academic in Greece – particularly those who are knowingly or unknowingly working within the same domain, that of adult development, learning, and education. It is to the future prospects and potential of adult learning and education within Greece that the final chapter is addressed.

CHAPTER 8

FUTURE PROSPECTS AND POTENTIAL

Greece has a long history – one which has been punctuated continually by setbacks from wars, subjugation periods, strife, and political turmoil. Consequently, the continuity of efforts toward and manifestations of adult learning endeavors have been disrupted, but the flame of adult learning seems never to have been totally extinguished. Perhaps more than any other factor, the language has lent continuity to an identity called the Greek people and has acted as a unifying influence in a country with such a long history. The richness, particularly of the classical texts, ensured a long life for the language. Despite modification of morphology and structure of the language since ancient times, it has still lent a link and access to a cultural tradition which is considered important by many Greeks, even if primarily in terms of a psychological identification with "glorious" roots.

Greece is a country rich in cultural awareness and activities and steeped in cultural tradition. The classical period, as we have seen, has had and continues to exert a powerful influence on modern society in general and more specifically on adult education endeavors in Greece.

The impact of classical ideals has contributed throughout Greek history to the resurrection of the passion for learning, but also has interfered with the development of some forms of education for adults (e.g. vocational education) and thus with the development of full human potential of individual and society. For example, reawakening to the glories of ancient ancestors created a nationalism which was pivotal in rising from Turkish oppression and creating a modern independent state. Reconnecting with the past has been equally useful as a tool of social action when educational levels of the mass populace waned. On the other hand, because of strong attachments to classical ideals, vocational education legislation did not even appear in the country until 1959.

With regard to adult education policy frameworks at the national/governmental level, the leadership prior to 1981 vigorously espoused the classical roots of the lifelong learning ideology permeating the globe, and reaffirmed classical ideals as a philosophical foundation for ministry related adult education endeavors. Governmental leadership in adult education from 1982 to the present has expressed a bit of disdain toward total adoption of such a philosophical foundation, expressing concern that it would interfere with operationalizing adult education for the masses. In fact, voices have risen periodically throughout Greek history advising that *too strong* an attachment to the past may overshadow full actualization of present potential. Perhaps consideration of the complementarity between these stances and a concommitant reconciliation of the views might serve as a major goal in attending to the future prospects and potential of learning and education for adults in Greece.

In definitional terms, adult education was broadly and comprehensively treated in the present work, including not only its programmatic aspects, but its presence as a process by which adults learn and have learned and the associated societal structures, arrangements, and means of catalyzing and supporting adult learning endeavors. In addition, efforts to change the social order and the educative nature of a variety of key movements in this process (e.g. women's peace, etc.) were included in the scope of the term.

When broadly construed in this manner, much activity is evidenced in the country. Reference to Schroeder's conceptual framework, [around which Chapters 4 and 5 were organized], indicates that operating systems abound as does a focus on a variety of client groups. Such efforts, however, are not always within the conscious awareness of the main "characters" (learners and learning agents) i.e. that they are part of an adult education movement or that adult education as a profession, lest a field of practice or study, exists.

Consequently, one cannot yet characterize adult education in Greece as a discipline or a field of study or a recognized field of professional practice, particularly given the lack of leadership systems. The appearance of leadership systems, however, seems to be evolving [as discussed in earlier chapters, and as further reviewed below].

Given the rich territory of operating and client systems, Greek adult educators are faced with a challenge and choice as to whether it is feasible as a future prospect and potential to consider investing energy into the development of leadership systems to provide guidance and direction to adult education as a field of professional ***practice, study,*** or ***both***. Such an effort might entail likewise an identification of existing leadership systems unknown on a widespread basis or potential entities capable of moving in that direction.

The reader will recall that the four types of leadership systems articulated by Schroeder include: (a) State, regional, and national governments, (b) professional associations of adult educators, (c) private foundations, and (d) graduate programs for adult education. While professional associations of adult educators, private foundations, and graduate programs for adult education are virtually nonexistent in Greece, the governmental influence on adult education in Greece has been highlighted throughout the chapters, particularly with regard to policy formulation, legislation, and programmatic design and support. Only in the past decade or so, however, have governmental efforts begun to focus on the importance of coordinating efforts among all governmental bodies involved with adults as learners in some form or manner.

Moreover, the central, regional, and local committee structures (see Figure 1, p. 45) have been expanded over the years to more generously include non-statutory bodies so that the planning process would include broad representations. A future potential might consider the role these committees exert, or might exert, acting as coordinating mechanisms for adult education efforts within the country. Of course it is reasonable to consider that a coordinating mechanism may be construed as too restrictive an approach in a country where independence is cherished. Coordination, however, need not be of a restrictive nature but might at minimum entail an awareness of the existence of others in disparate contexts who may be bound to one another by the common glue of engaging in some form or manner of adult education – whether as learning facilitators, program designers, administrators, researchers, or any of the other many roles.

Whose task, however, will that be? Who will step forward to play that role and provide that kind of direction? The potential role which the central, regional, and local committee structure plays is only one alternative. Efforts have come forth in the past from consultants external to the country; however, it seems that Greece, given its active involvement and strong international affiliations and memberships, may maximize upon its external reaches and may be ready to generate from within the country the ingredients to develop adult education not only as a field of practice, but also as a field of study and a profession.

Such an effort would benefit first of all from some organized networking mechanism to keep "adult educators" aware of each other's existence. One effort in this direction had been the inception and publication of *Automòrphosē*, the periodical which, in addition to encouraging input and dialogue from the readers, kept readers informed about popular education strides within Greece and often discussed ideas from abroad and their applicability to Greece.

This latter point seems extremely germain to the future potential of adult education in Greece and again it bears repeating that Greece seems ready to garner the knowledge gleaned both from international colleagues and experiences in other countries, complemented by the lessons learned from its own history and experiences in fashioning policies, practices, and strides – that is, its own system to meet its own particular requirements. Such momentum is already apparent in the work being done with returning ex-patriots and the materials and approaches specifically tailored to the gypsy population in Greece.

A plausible next step beyond the publication of *Automòrphosè* may be some sort of professional association, even if only modest in the beginning, to develop a camaraderie, a cohesiveness and an identity as an "adult educator".

If adult education leaders and proponents determine that the country is too small to accomplish such a venture, perhaps alternate energy might be invested in active involvement and opportunties for more widespread involvement with the Mediterranean Association for Adult Education, organized by the Italian adult educator Vincent De Sanctis, but with input also from Greek leaders. Of course, such regional associations serve an important function but most of the time do not take the place of national, regional, or local efforts within the country, particularly when one considers the potential language barrier which may exclude the local monolingual adult educators who could benefit the most and have the least opportunity to do so.

Another future prospect is the development of a register or preferably a directory of adult education providers. This author, with a colleague (Iris Drower), is finalizing development of a Resource Directory of Adult Education Agents in Greece (including statutory, nonstatutory, and private initiatives), but a complementary effort to generate a directory of individuals (including addresses) involved as adult educators (broadly defined) may constitute a future prospect. In addition, the first noted directory may be missing regional and local efforts. Consequently, an additional future thrust might be the development of local directories since, as Townsend-Coles (1977) reminds us, some agencies may be strictly local.

A broader effort might be aimed at the consideration of developing a National Resource Center or Clearinghouse containing not only Resource Directories of Adult Education Agents (agencies and individuals), but research reports and other support mechanisms and materials, which could also embrace private initiatives.

What about the long-standing efforts of private initiatives in Greece – of professional associations, of learned societies, and the like. How can they, or will they, be considered if one decides to take on the challenge of further developing adult education as a profession and as a field of study as well as practice.

Another ingredient in the leadership system of adult education are graduate programs in adult education which are non-existent in Greece, thus depriving the country likewise of a host of research idiosyncratic to adult learning efforts in the country.

It does not seem likely that such programs will develop in the near future, at least not until adult education as a field (at least of practice, if not study) becomes more developed and recognized. A possible start in that direction might be the introduction by universities of continuing education courses that deal with topics, knowledge, and skills relevant to adult education. Such a feat might also contribute to bridging further the paths between academics and practitioners. Both preparatory as well as in-service or continuous learning activities could be included.

Once such ventures have been mounted, perhaps appeals might be made to private foundations already in existence (e.g. the Onassis Foundation) for support, or efforts directed to the development of new foundations perhaps via potential philanthropic contributions from shipping magnates, or other business and industrial forces in the country – thus attending to the final element of a leadership system.

Thus, future prospects and potential with regard to the four elements of a leadership system (government, professional associations of adult educators, private foundations, and graduate programs of adult education) have been explored.

Greece is a country of multi-faceted adult learning efforts. Governments come and go and with them sometimes policy frameworks and even legislation. Things current today may become only part of history tomorrow. The recorded history, however, is solid and strong, and past becomes prologue to the future. Current strides in modern Greece have made some drastic changes in the societal structures for adult learning which may be modified by future leaders. The people, however, have been stirred. Particularly in the women's movement, perhaps more than at any other time in history, equality of the sexes in legislative and operational initiatives has made an impact. Likewise with initiatives for other special groups such as the disabled, the gypsies, and others. Despite what may happen in the future, they have tasted the fruit of development and will not be the same – and will not now be satisfied with less. This situation represents a challenge to the future.

Greece is a country at key crossroads between the East and West, and with a long-standing history of and passion for learning. The future prospects and potentials for adult learning and education within the country are great, as is the potential for other countries to learn from the Greek experience. This work has offered a modest step toward that end, but one of the most fundamental challenges looms: who in Greece will be concerned with – or even interested in – the entire spectrum of adult learning and education in the country.

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* Also catalogued as Bakalopoulos

FOOTNOTES

1. The interested reader is referred to the following English renditions:
   Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*. (Crawley, Trans. 1982). New York: The Modern Library.
   Xenephon. *The Persian Expedition*. (Rex Warner, Trans. 1949). Baltimore, MD: Penguin.

2. **Boulē**: "In Greek States, originally the council of nobles which the king summoned to advise him; later a specially appointed council to undertake on behalf of the citizen-body, the day-to-day affairs of the State. Its range of competence was equal to that of the Citizen Assembly [the Ekklessia]...The boulē was the keystone of the democratic constitution; without its assistance in the formation and execution of policy the Ekklesia could never have executed its sovereignty wisely and effectively. That, in spite of its wide powers, the boulē did not dominate the State was due to the annual change of its entire membership..." (See *Oxford classical dictionary*, p. 178.)

3. **Socratic method of questioning**: An approach to the teaching-learning situation in which no information is given or imparted by the teacher. Answers are drawn forth by means of "pointed" questions and thus one is led step by step to the answer. As a result of being exposed to this method, often one learns to dialogue with oneself in this manner.

4. **Plato's symposium**: This provided an atmosphere of convivial drinking as a setting for contrasting speeches on a philosophical topic diversified by exchanges of dialogue. (See *Oxford classical dictionary* pp. 839-842, p. 1028).

5. **Tselingata** (literally shepherds' unions): An informal system of cooperation for taking sheep to pasture and selling them. They were widespread from the 14th through the mid-20th centuries. Few remain at present.

6. **Phanariots**: The term derives from those living in the Phanar district of Constantinople. The Phanariots were experienced administrators, through the administration of Church affairs, who were given important positions by the Turks and thus held high office in the Ottoman administration as well as the Church. They were chosen not only for their administrative acumen but also because of their versatility and usefulness in trading and other transactions, because they had learned and mastered Western languages.

7. **Katharevousa**: Etymologically from the same root as Katharizō (I clean), Katharevousa was a purification of foreign ("barbaric") influence on the language and systematization of the morphology of the language based on the classical model. Adamatios Korais is credited with its genesis. Over the years it became the written language of professionals, and of administration – used in reports, publications, and public notices. Katharevousa has co-existed with Demotikē, the spoken language. During 1967 Katharevousa was declared the official language of education beyond the elementary years; however, more recently Demotikē has been made official. Essentially, the role of Katharevousa (and Demotikē) has varied according to the administration of the government.

8. The interested reader is referred to Hondros (1969, 1983) and Iatrides (1981) as good references for this period.

9. In 1878 Great Britain took over administration of Cyprus from the Turks, who were promised in return help against Russia. From the Greek population arose pleas to the British for "enosis" (union with Greece); however, in 1914 Cyprus was annexed to the British Crown. The next year Britain offered Cyprus to Greece (but only if Greece helped Serbia). Such an event never transpired and by 1924 Cyprus was a Crown Colony. Repeatedly the movement for "enosis" reemerged. By the 1950s the movement became extremely agitated, particularly when the small Turkish population (17%) put forward demands that the island should be partitioned. Efforts by British Government and NATO failed to effect a resolution. The negotiations resulted in a decision for neither enosis nor partition. A new republic was formed with a first general election during 1960. Peace, however, has never prevailed between the Greek and Turkish factions on Cyprus. A coup in 1974, and a Turkish invasion and

occupation of Cyprus has resulted in a situation of quasi separate states for Turks and Greeks. The interested reader is referred to:
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Crawshaw, N. (1978). *The Cyprus revolt: An account of the struggle for union with Greece.* London, Boston: Allen & Unwin.
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10. The 1984 visit was made by George Papandreou, Deputy of Parliament, and Alexis Kokkos and Angeliki Kostelenou both of whom were associated with KEMEA and involved with grass roots popular education as well as with the education of adult educators. Gary Eyre was then Executive Director of AAACE The 1987 visit and presentation was made by Anna Diamantopoulou, newly-appointed General Secretary of Popular Education, and Voula Katsikarou, responsibile for coordinating and organizing ministerial popular education efforts for several years. Both Diamantopoulou and Katsikarou are involved full spectrum with popular education efforts at the Ministry of Culture, including the education of educators.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

The following table represents the Library of Congress transliteration system employed in this book for converting Greek to Roman letters for readability purposes.

Greek	Roman
Α α	A a
Β β	B b
	(V v - modern Greek c. 1453-present)
Γ γ	G g
Δ δ	D d
Ε ε	E e
Ζ ζ	Z z
Η η	Ē ē
Θ θ	Th th
Ι ι	I i
Κ κ	K k
Λ λ	L l
Μ μ	M m
Μπ μπ (initial only)	B b
Ν ν	N n
Ντ ντ (initial only)	D̲ d̲
Ξ ξ	X x
Ο ο	O o
Π π	P p
Ρ ρ	R r
Σ σ ς (at the end of a word)	S s
Τ τ	T t
Υ υ	Y y (u in dipthong)
Φ φ	Ph ph
Χ χ	Ch ch
Ψ ψ	Ps ps
Ω ω	Ō ō

omit: H h

Source: ALA-LC Romanization Tables Cataloging Service, *Bulletin 118*, p. 59, Summer, 1976

ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS REFERRED TO IN TEXT BY GREEK ACRONYM

ACRONYM	GREEK TRANSLITERATION*	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
ASETEM	Anōterē Scholē Ekpaideuseōs Technologōn Mēchanikōn	Higher Technical School of Educational Technologists
EGE	Enōsē Gynaikōn Elladas	Union of Greek Women
EIAA	Ethniko Idryma Apokatastasēs Anapērōn	National Institute for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled
EKKE	Ethniko Kentro Koinōnikōn Ereunōn	National Center of Social Research
ELKEPA	Ellēniko Kentro Paragōgikotētos	Greek Productivity Centre
EOMMEX	Ethnikos Organismos Mikromesaiōn Metapoiētikōn Epicheirēseōn Cheirotechnias	National Organization of Mid-Size Enterprises
ESAP	Ethniko Symvoulio Anōtatēs Paideias	National Council for University Level Education
GSEE	Genikē Synomospondia Ergaton Ellados	General Confederation of Greek Workers
IMEO	Institouto Meletōn Ellinikēs Oikonomias	Institute for the Study of the Greek Economy
KAPĒ	Kentra Anoichtēs Prostasias Elikiōmenon	Day Care Centers for the Aged
KATEE	Kentra Anōteras Technikēs kai Epaggelmatikēs Ekpaideusēs	Centers for Higher Technical and Vocational Education
KEGE	Kentra Epaggelmatikēs Geōrgikēs Ekpaideuseōs	Centers for Professional Agricultural Education

* For conversion to Greek letters use Table of Transliteration on page 132.

KEKA	Kentrikē Epitropē Katapolemēseōs Analphavētismou	Central Committee for Combatting Illiteracy
KELE	Kentrikē Epitropē Laikēs Epimorphōsēs	Central Committee for Popular/Adult Education
KEME*	Kentro Ekpaideutikōn Meletōn kai Epimorphōseōs	Center for Educational Research and Planning In-service Education of Teachers
KEMEA	Kentro Meleton kai Automorphōsēs	Center for Studies and Self-Education
KEMETE	Kentron Meletōn Tekmēriōsēs kai Ekpaideusēs	Center for Study, Documentation and Training
KEPE	Kentro Epistēmonikōn Ereunōn	Center for Planning and Economic Research
NEKA	Nomarchiakai Epitropai Katapolemēseōs Analphavētismou	Regional Committees for Combatting Illiteracy
NELE	Nomarchiakes Epitropes Laikēs Epimorphōsēs	Regional Committees for Popular/Adult Education
OAED	Organismos Apascholēsēos Ergatikou Dynamikou	Manpower Employment Agency
OTE	Organismos Tēlepikoinōniōn Elladas	Greek Telecommunications Organization
PASEGES	Panellēnia Synomospondia Enōseōn Georgikōn Synaiterismōn	Pan-Hellenic Confederations of Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives
PASOK	Panellēnio Sosialistiko Kinēma	Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement
PATES	Paidagōgikē Technikē Scholē	Pedagogical Technical Schools

* The name of KEME was changed in 1985 (Law 1566) to PI — Paidagōgiko Institouto (Pedagogical Institute) — with expanded branches. The name change represents a reinstatement of PI established by Law 4379 of 1964, but dissolved during the advent of the military dictatorship in 1967.

PEKADE	Panellēnia Enōsē Kathēgētōn Agglikōn Dēmosia Ekpaideusēs	Pan-Hellenic Union of State Teachers of English
SEGAS	Synomospondia Ellinikōn Gymnastikōn Athlētikōn Sōmateiōn	Greek Federation of Athletic Associations
SELDE	Scholē Epimorphōseōs Leitourgōn Dēmotikēs Ekpaideuseōs	In-Service Education of Primary School Teachers
SELETE	Scholē Epimorphōseōs Leitourgōn Epaggelmatikēs Technikēs Ekpaideuseōs	College for the Training of Technical and Vocational Teachers
SELME	Scholē Epimorphōseōs Leitourgōn Meses Ekpaideuseōs	In-Service Education of Secondary School Teachers
SLE	Symvoulia Laikēs Epimorphōsēs	Popular/Adult Education Counselors
TEI	Technologika Ekpaideutika Idrymata	Technological Training Establishments
XAN	Christianikē Adelphotēta Neōn	YMCA
XEN	Christianikē Enōsē Neonidōn	YWCA

NOTE: Some organizations and institutions were first established and named when the Katharevousa language was employed. This accounts for the variation in the use of Katharevousa and Dēmotikē in the transliterations. (For KELE and NELE current [Dēmotikē] usage is employed.)

INDEX

Academy(ies): 7, 17, 18, 31
Adult/popular education: definition of, xiii-xiv, 53-54, 62-63, 115
Adult Education Centers: 33-34, 35, 37, 38, 44, 65
Adult education, Schroeder typology:
  Client systems, 64, 89-100, 115
  Operating systems, 62-63, 64-86, 115
  Leadership systems, 63-64, 115, 118
Agora: 8, 13, 49
Agricultural education: 39, 58, 69-70, 93-95 (*See also KEGE and cooperatives*)
Alexander the Great: 4, 7, 12
American Farm School: 30, 94, 107 (*See also Thessaloniki Agricultural and Industrial Institute*)
Ampelakia: 19, 94, 97
Archeology: and learning, 28-29, 106-107
Aristotle: 7
ASETEM: 66, 133
Athens Center: 41, 83, 86
Automōrphosē: 63, 81-82, 102-103, 116, 117

Banks (as agents of learning): 82-83, 93-94
Boulē: 6, 129

Civil War: 25, 32
Classical Greece and influence: 4-12, 14, 16-17, 27, 105, 114
  Ideals: 12, 16, 66, 114
Constitution of Greece: 46-47, 53
Continuing professional education and associations: 29-30, 43, 85, 89, 99
Cooperatives: 19, 30, 55, 58, 77, 94-97
Cooperative movement; 16, 65, 77, 83
Cooperative College of Thessaloniki; 40-41, 96-97
Coordination, coordinating mechanism: 44, 46, 64, 82, 103, 116
Correctional education: 70
Council for the Equality of the Sexes: 71, 74, 76-77, 91, 97

Day Care:
  For children, 72, 84, 93
  For elderly, 72, 84, 93
Dēmotikē: 21, 43, 130
Disabled: 68, 99-100, 118

Educational/cultural vacations: 58, 78-79
Education of adult educators: 101-103
EGE (Union of Greek Women): 91, 133
EIAA (National Institute for the Rehabilitation of the Disabled): 99-100, 133
EKKE (National Center of Social Research): 40, 133
ELKEPA (Greek Productivity Center): 39, 72-74, 90, 98, 103, 133
Emigrants: 31
  Returning, 53, 99, 107
  Support from, 105-106
  (*See also Ex-patriots*)
Emigration: 23, 53, 105, 106
Employee training and development: 69, 97-98
Enlightenment: 90
  French, 20, 106
  Greek, 18, 20, 106
EOMMEX (EOMMECH): 82, 133

ESAP (National Council for University Level Education): 68, 133
European Bureau of Adult Education: 110
European Economic Community (EEC): 26, 34, 41, 53, 58, 61, 67, 76, 77, 79, 91, 97-98, 107, 110
Ex-patriots, patriates (and returning emigrants): 61, 99, 105-106, 117 (*See also Emigrants*)

Family and parent education: 33, 65, 77, 79, 93
Family Planning Centers: 71-72 93
Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development (1983-1987): 54, 55, 56-61, 72, 74, 94, 99
Fourre, Pierre: 37, 102

Grau, Herbert: 37, 102
Great Idea: 24 (*See also Meghali Idea*)
Greek War of Independence (from Turkish rule): 22, 23, 48, 49, 90, 106
GSEE (General Confederation of Greek Workers): 30, 72, 78-79, 133
Gymnasia (gymnastics): 8, 13, 31, 49, 78, 84
Gypsy, education of: 99, 117, 118

Health Centers: 59
Hesiod: 2, 48-49
Homer: 1, 2, 41

Illiteracy/literacy:
    Fight against, 80, 89-90
    Legislation, 33-37, 66, 80, 89-90 (*See also Night Primary Schools*)
IMEO (Institute for the Study of the Greek Economy): 73-74, 133
International Cooperative Alliance: 109
International Council for Adult Education (ICAE): ix, 102, 111
Ionic Center: 41, 86
Isocrates: 7, 8, 11

KAPĒ (Day Care Centers for the Aged): 72, 133
Karamanlis: 26
Katharevousa: 20, 28, 130, 133
KATEE (Centers for Higher Technical and Vocational Education): 67, 133
KEGE (Centers for Professional Agricultural Education): 69-70, 93, 94, 133
Kehayiopoulos, Petros: xii, 33, 36, 38, 43, 64, 80, 101, 107
KEKA (Central Committee for Combatting Illiteracy): 34-35, 134
KELE (Central Committee for Popular/Adult Education): 35-36, 43, 134
KEME (Center for Educational Research and Planning In-Service Education of Teachers): 43, 66, 98, 104, 134 (*See also PI–Pedagogical Institute*)
KEMEA (Center for Studies and Self-Education): 46, 63, 81-82, 91, 102-103, 104, 112, 134
KEMETE (Center for Study, Documentation, and Training): 30, 98, 134
KEPE (Center for Planning and Economic Research): 67, 134
Korais, Adamantios: 20, 21, 130

Language training: 41, 85-86, 107
Learned societies: 13, 28-29, 30, 32, 40, 117-118
Learning society: 5
    Growth of, 5-10
    Decline of, 10-12 (*See also Paideia*)
Library(ies): 12-13, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 40, 70, 72, 74, 79, 84, 105
Literacy (*See Illiteracy*)

Management development: 74, 76, 96-97, 98
Markantonis: 41, 43, 103

Meghali Idea: 24 (*See also Great Idea*)
Military junta/dictatorship, 1967-1974: 26, 37, 38, 39, 42, 53, 95
Monasticism: 14, 16
Museum(s): 13, 29, 79

Nationalism/nationalistic identity: 17-18, 48, 105, 114
NEKA (Regional Committees for Combatting Illiteracy): 35, 134
NELE (Regional Committees for Popular/Adult Education): 35-36, 37, 38-39, 44, 68, 70, 81, 134
Neoclassicism: 13 (*See also Classical, Renaissance*)
New Generation: 76, 77-79, 82, 84, 87
Night Primary Schools: 33, 34, 35, 36, 65, 80
  Equivalency diploma, 36-37
  Legislation for, 31-32, 36, 80

OAED (Manpower Employment Agency): 39, 67, 74, 91, 97, 98, 99-100, 134
OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development): Assistance and input from, 34, 37, 66-67, 107
Olympic Games: 3, 14, 28, 87, 105 (*See also Pan-Hellenic Festivals*)
OTE (Greek Telecommunications Organization): 70, 134

Paideia: 6-7, 8, 9, 10-11, 12, 68
  In ancient Greece, growth of, 5-10
  Decline of, 10-11 (*See also Learning society*)
Pan-Hellenic Festivals and Games: 2, 5, 78, 87, 105 (*See also Olympic Games*)
Papandreou, Andreas: 26, 55, 87
Papandreou, George (Sr.): 26, 38, 42
Papandreou, George (Jr.): 44, 54, 79, 81, 131
Papandreou, Margaret: 91
Parent education: (*See Family and parent education*)
PASEGES: 93, 95, 96, 103, 134
PASOK (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement): 26, 44, 54, 134
PATES (Pedagogical Technical Schools): 66, 134
PEKADE (Pan-Hellenic Union of State Teachers of English): 86, 135
Peace education: 3, 78, 87-88, 105, 111
Pedagogical Institute (PI): 66, 135
Periodization: xiv, 4
Phanariots: 20, 106, 130
Philhellenes: 20, 106
Plato: 7, 8, 10
Plato's Symposium: 8, 49, 65, 129
Poets, as educators: 2, 28, 48-49 (*See also Homer, Hesiod, Sappho*)
Professional associations and societies: 30, 32, 40, 116, 117 (*See also Continuing professional education*)

Renaissance: 16, 20 (*See also Classical, Neoclassicism*)
Research Centers: 30, 40, 63, 84, 103-104
Research in adult education: 103-104
Research Institute: 27, 60

Sappho: 2
SEGAS (Greek Federation of Athletic Associations): 3, 135
SELDE (In-Service Education of Primary School Teachers): 66, 135
Self-governing institutions: 18-19
SELETE (College for the Training of Technical and Vocational Teachers): 66, 135
SELME (In-Service Education of Secondary School Teachers): 66, 135
SLE (Popular/Adult Education

Counselors): 81, 135
Socrates: 7, 9, 10
Socratic dialogue/method: 7, 8, 129
Sophists: 8, 10, 65, 68
Study circles:
  At home of scholars, 16, 17, 49
  At imperial palace, 15, 49
  As literary clubs, 18, 49
  As reading clubs, 15, 49

TEI(Technical Training Establishments): 67, 135
Theater: 5-6, 8, 31, 78
Thessaloniki Agricultural and Industrial Institute: 30, 94, 107 (*See also American Farm School*)
Theocharides: 18, 20, 48, 106
Theorikon: 5, 49, 78
Thucydides: 4, 8, 10, 129
Townsend-Coles, Edwin: iii, 38, 39, 43, 63, 102, 117

UNESCO:
  Aid and influence, 37, 38, 43, 67, 87, 102, 107, 109, 111
  Assembly, 43, 80
  Consultants to Greece: xiii, 37-38, 43, 107, 109, 111 (*See also Fourre, Grau, Townsend-Coles*)
United Nations Decade for Women: 92
University(ies): 14, 15, 16, 27, 31, 39, 40, 60, 68, 101, 103, 104, 118

Venizelos, Eleftherios: 23, 54
Vocational-technical education: 42, 43, 66-68, 93-94, 97-98, 99-100, 107, 114

Women's movement: 25, 28, 59, 61, 78, 90-92, 97, 110, 111, 118
  First educational institution for, 2

Xenephon: 4, 7, 129

YMCA, YWCA (Xan, Xen): 30-31, 83-84, 110, 135